

IN THESE TIMES

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40 Cents

Riot in Chicago

When police moved into Chicago's Humboldt Park after a conflict between two local gangs, they didn't stop with reestablishing order... Their rampage against Chicago's Puerto Rican community provoked a full-fledged, two-day riot. (Page 5)



A Chicago police paddy-wagon burns along with other cars in riot-torn Humboldt Park.

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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Into the 1980s with Woody Allen

When future historians attempt to chart the passage of the American spirit from the explosive '60s through the dark cynical '70s and beyond, they would do well to look at Woody Allen's films.

Bananas, *Sleeper*, and now *Annie Hall* (to mention the best of them) reveal how many Americans have come to view themselves and their country. Moreover, as Greil Marcus suggested recently, *Annie Hall*, Allen's latest film, may represent a first step away from the "ready-made vision of American emptiness" that characterized much of the culture of the '70s toward a new "culture of the '80s."

'50s bohemianism.

Woody Allen was born in Brooklyn in 1935 and, while still in high school, was writing gags for Earl Wilson and Walter Winchell. He progressed from them to Sid Caesar and Herb Shriner, and in 1960, inspired by Mort Sahl, became a standup comic himself.

In 1964, producer Charles Feldman hired Allen to write the script for *What's New Pussycat*. While the final version bore little resemblance to Allen's original, he received the credit when the film became a smash hit. (Allen was to say later: "If they had let me make it, I could have made it twice as funny and half as successful.")

He parlayed *Pussycat* into a contract with United Artists where he had total artistic control, within a prescribed budget, over the making of *Take the Money and Run* and his five subsequent films.

Allen, whose glasses have become his trademark, is one of the first comedians to speak for the new generation of college-educated white collar workers.

His humor comes from filtering the experiences of this generation through the values of '50s bohemianism. He is the Jew as outsider confronting a corrupt world ruled by unfeeling gentiles and uncontrollable machines.

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To its reality of power, technology, money, and pretension, he counterposes his own of sex, love, and death.

Like one strand of '50s bohemianism, Allen is militantly anti-political. ("You know the ethics those guys have," he says of politicians in *Annie Hall*, "it's one notch below child-molesters.") Anybody in politics, whether part of the system or seeking to overthrow it, becomes subject to its corruption.

Like another strand of the '50s, he sees the male ego and the ideal of American manhood as part of the world's pretension. Before *Annie Hall*, his most extended statement on the subject was *Play It Again Sam*, a takeoff on *Casablanca*, in which Allen bumblingly tried to emulate Humphrey Bogart's ways with women.

Again like the '50s bohemian, Allen is the perpetual adolescent, never able to settle down, always seeking romance rather than family. Families are like cars: too complicated and too compromised.

Pervasive cynicism.

Allen came into his own in the '70s, just when many of his contemporaries fell by the wayside. The Norman Mailer side of the '50s, in which one's own manhood provided the basis for criticizing a corrupt and morally flabby society, ran up against the development of the women's movement and could not accommodate itself to its insights. While no feminist, Allen's caricatures of male sexuality met the challenge.

Products of the '50s who took the political path also found themselves out on a limb in the '70s, unable to grapple with a world in which political disillusionment prevailed. But the cynicism of the '70s played right into Allen's hand.

With *Bananas* and *Sleeper*, his penultimate '70s movies, he takes on all sides: Fidelistas as well as the FBI, the mysterious leader as well as aspiring revolutionaries. At the end of *Sleeper*, having defeated the leader's Aries project only to place society in the hands of the egomaniacal Arno, Allen assures Diane Keaton that nothing really matters but "sex and death."

In their madcap pace and succession of one-liners and sight-gags, both movies recall the Marx Brothers films of the early '30s. Everything is fair game for humor; the plot is totally subordinated to the comic opportunities.

They appealed to an audience that had grown critical of society, yet cynical about the possibilities of change, and that needed some respite from growing fears of economic insecurity and moral purposelessness. For many, Allen's films were the perfect vehicle. (Others might try Mel Brooks' films or Norman Lear's situation comedies.)

No longer a nebish.

But *Annie Hall* is a marked departure from Allen's earlier films. It is a carefully structured autobiography in which Allen plays Alvie Singer, a twice-married gag-writer turned standup comic, who falls in love with Annie Hall, played by Diane Keaton. An improbable couple, they live together in New York until finally Hall, grown more sure of herself and wishing to move to Los Angeles, leaves Allen. This was essentially what happened between Allen and Keaton, whose real name is Hall.

In *Annie Hall*, Allen has cast aside his image of "the nebish" or "loser," totally afraid of women, for a somewhat more aggressive and realistic image. As critic Andrew Sarris put it, "The old Woody might have gone to a shrink, but he would not have had the wherewithal to pay for his girl friend's analysis."

His portrayal of Keaton, and of women, is more sympathetic and less stereotyped than in his previous films. Significantly, he shows her reading *The Second Sex* in the final days of their life together.

But Allen manages to introduce this new realism without sacrificing the old jokes. When Annie asks Alvie about penis envy, he replies: "I am one of the few males who suffer from that." Alvie also refuses to take public showers with "males of the same gender."

Metaphysical jokes.

Allen manages to sandwich the plot of *Annie Hall* between the usual metaphysical pronouncements. In the beginning, he tells the story of the two elderly women at a Catskills resort complaining about the food. "The food, it's so terrible," says one. And the other says, "Yes, and there are such small portions." Alvie concludes "That is how I feel about life: it is full of misery and suffering, and it's all over much too quickly."

In the end, he amplifies this theme through the story of a man who goes to a doctor to complain that his brother has gone crazy—he thinks he is a chicken. The doctor asks him, "Why don't you turn him in?" And he replies, "I would, but I need the eggs." Alvie concludes: "This is how I feel about relationships. They are totally irrational and absurd but we keep going through it because we need the eggs."

But whatever Allen's intentions, Alvie's pronouncements appear funny rather than wise: as expressions of his own comic stance rather than as correct reflections upon the movie's content. If there is a message in *Annie Hall*, it is not this cynical one of his early movies.

Allen, it seems, cares passionately about New York City and detests Los Angeles. In *Annie Hall*, the battle between New York and L.A. provides a social undercurrent that runs through the film and deprives it of its cynicism.

"The country looks upon us," Alvie says to his fellow New Yorker Max, "as if we were leftwing Jewish homosexual pornographers."

When Max urges him to leave New York for L.A., he says, "The only cultural advantage [of L.A.] is that you can make a right turn on a red light."

Driving around Los Angeles before he is to make an appearance on a TV awards show, Alvie responds to the comparison of Los Angeles' cleanliness with the dirt of New York City: "They don't throw their garbage away, they make it into TV shows."

When Alvie and Annie break up, it is really New York breaking up with Los Angeles. She wants to go there to live. When Alvie visits her there, she has become the image of superficiality. (We learn that eventually she can't stand it either and leaves.)

For Allen, New York symbolizes his own bohemian values ("the leftwing Jewish homosexual pornographer")—and *Annie Hall* is a defense of those values against the bland superficiality and pretension of modern life.

A new spirit.

By 1977, the self-righteous revolutionaries that Allen parodied in *Sleeper* have vanished from the scene, but the politicians and yesmen and the madness in high places that inspired the cultural rebellion of the '50s are still there. *Annie Hall* reflects this. Just as his earlier movies expressed the cynicism of the '50s, *Annie Hall* expresses its anger and vision.

In this respect, *Annie Hall* may be a sign, as Greil Marcus suggested, of a new spirit afoot in which the critical understanding that Americans gained over the last 20 years will no longer be tempered by cynicism and despair.

Allen may not be the one to articulate this new spirit—many Americans will not know which side to take in the battle between New York and L.A. But in a period where most artists are content to peer into what Marcus describes as "the arty void," he has succeeded in producing intimations of its arrival.

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EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, Editor, M.J. Sklar, Associate Editor, Doyle Niemann, Managing Editor, John Judis, Foreign News, Janet Stevenson, Culture, Judy MacLean, Dan Marshall, David Moberg, National Staff, Bill Burr, Keenen Peck, Steve Rosswurm, Library.

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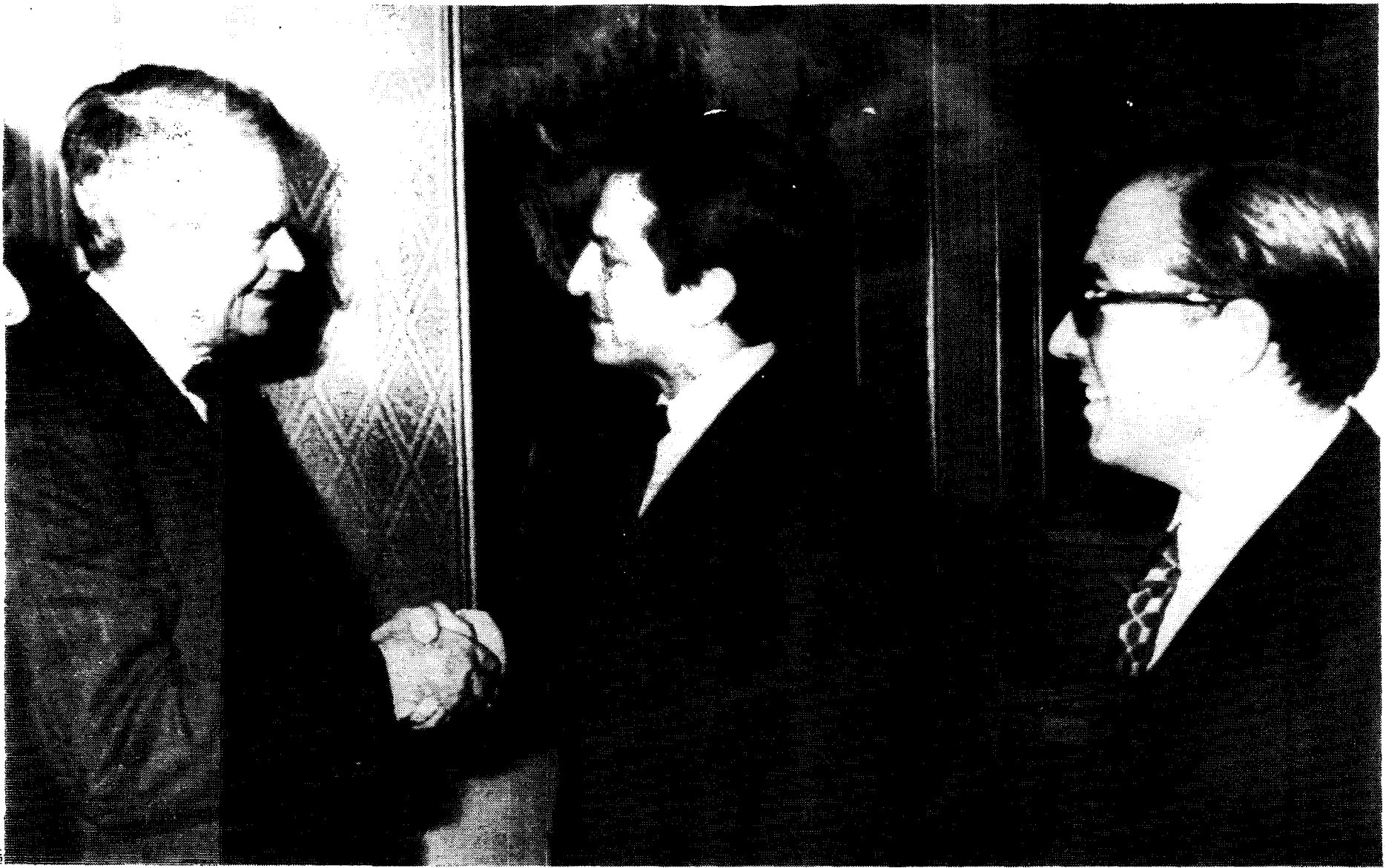
SAN FRANCISCO: Claire Greensfelder, Joel Parker, 4120 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA 94609, (415) 658-6754. SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 111, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404) 881-1689.

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A peaceful road to capitalism



(Above) Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez greets American Secretary of State Cyrus Vance at Moncloa Palace in Madrid, May 5. Spanish Foreign Minister Macelino Oreja looks on. (far right)

The national legislative elections on June 15 mark an important step along the road to political democracy in Spain. The road has been long and difficult, full of unexpected turns and obstacles.

Never before has a fascist state been transformed without the application of military force. The fascist regimes of Germany, Italy, Portugal and Eastern Europe were all overthrown by military forces acting from within and without. Spanish fascism has managed to adapt itself peacefully to the more liberal air of multinational capitalism. In the face of growing internal opposition, it has succeeded in controlling its own process of democratization.

The elections are being held under conditions that are clearly favorable to the financial oligarchy that dominates Spain. For years the aim of the left opposition of Communists and Socialists was to overthrow the Franco regime and to install a provisional government that would mark a clean break with the past—one that would hold truly free elections for a constituent assembly to write a new constitution for Spain.

Instead, the opposition has been forced to accept elections that are being organized and controlled by a government of former Franco officials, led by Adolfo Suarez. This government is using all the levers of persuasion and manipulation left behind by the Generalissimo—from the civil and military administration to the fascist *Movimiento* itself—to perpetuate its rule.

Suarez seizes initiative.

A hybrid of authoritarian and liberal institutions, the present Spanish constitution gives extraordinary powers to the King and virtual veto power to the Senate. The election of four Senators from each province will give undue weight to the conservative and under populated rural area. With a fifth of its members being chosen by the King directly, the Senate will therefore constitute a check against the democratic excesses of the lower house, the Congress of Deputies, whose 350 members will be elected on a somewhat more proportional basis.

Meanwhile, Suarez disposes of the monopoly of the air waves in a country where the state radio and television are the only sources of information for four-

fifths of the population and where the daily press is still highly conservative. It is no accident that King Juan Carlos chose Suarez, the former director of the state television and a skillful manipulator of opinion, to conduct the elections. To his credit also, Suarez can count upon the barely veiled blessing of the church hierarchy, which has expressed its revulsion for the extremes of right and left, and whose views still weigh heavily upon the minds of many Spaniards.

Having apparently seized the democratic initiative from the opposition, Suarez will probably receive credit for the liberal reforms that have been accomplished in the last year—the constitutional referendum in December, regional reforms, the legalization of strikes and trade unions and of all but the extreme left political parties, and the nearly total political amnesty. Paradoxically, he will also doubtless benefit from the reflex of fear that has led several generations of Spaniards to the polls to vote for the government.

Early polls showed that most voters were still undecided before the bewildering array of political choices, some 184 individual parties with at least eight major national lists, each with their own combination of social, popular and democratic in their title. These polls gave the neo-Francoist Popular Alliance ten percent, Suarez's Union of the Democratic Center 20, the Socialist PSOE 21, and the Communists 10. Since then, through his command of the media, Suarez has raised his standing in the polls to one-third, enough to guarantee him a dominant position in the new parliament.

Industrial take off.

The liberalization of the fascist regime was made possible by the great social and economic mutations that occurred under Franco. In the late '50s the dictator decided to abandon the corporatist principle of a closed, regulated and autocratic economy and to open Spanish society to the laws of free market competition. Con-

Spanish Communists and Socialists wanted a clear break with the past—free elections and a new democratic constitution. But this week's elections promise to strengthen the control of Adolfo Suarez and Spain's ruling elite.

trols on wages, prices, foreign investment and employment were removed. Foreign capital flowed in to take advantage of the lower wage levels, high unemployment and repressive labor laws.

Spanish banks, which control most industrial investment, received heavy infusions of Western capital. Nearly all the major American multinationals established affiliates in Spain. The dominant social base of the regime shifted from the landowning and provincial middle classes to the financiers and industrialists of the great national banks.

During the '60s Spain experienced a virtual industrial take-off, with annual growth rates of 7 percent, that soon transformed it into the tenth largest industrial nation in the world. Rapid industrialization created a new and militant industrial working class as well as a new middle class of managers and technocrats who were beholden to the fascist regime. It also caused the ruin of traditional agriculture, the depopulation of the countryside, and the formation of highly concentrated and polluted industrial centers, like the Bilbao basin, that are among the most blighted in the world.

The new industrial working class became the backbone of resistance to Franco. Utilizing the breach in the corporate structure afforded by a new law on collective bargaining, workers elected their own delegates to negotiate with management. These delegates, known as Workers' Commissions, began to conduct strikes, coordinate their action and to penetrate the official trade union organizations. Spain, where strikes were illegal, became

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IN THE NATION

GAYS

Civil rights for gays set back by Miami vote

By Christine R. Riddiough

"Tonight the laws of God and the cultural values of man have been vindicated," said Anita Bryant as voters in Dade County (Miami), Fl., overwhelmingly passed a referendum June 7 repealing gay rights legislation that had been enacted earlier this year by the Dade County Board of Commissioners. The vote (202,319 to 81,569) was the culmination of a six-month campaign by anti-gay forces and paves the way for a national "Save Our Children" campaign.

The controversial legislation would have prohibited discrimination against gay people in employment, housing and public accommodations. Similar laws have been passed in several small communities including Berkeley, Ann Arbor, and Champaign, Ill. Passed initially with little notice, the legislation soon became a target of a referendum campaign.

Save Our Children.

The anti-gay forces were led by Anita Bryant, a former Miss America runner-up and public spokesperson for Florida citrus products. Her group, Save Our Children (SOC) collected 65,000 more than the 10,000 signatures necessary to force the referendum and began to receive broad media coverage as Bryant toured the nation.

SOC literature charged, among many other things, that the law would lead to gays openly recruiting children to homosexuality. As the campaign heated up even more vitriolic attacks occurred. Bryant called gays "human garbage"; bumper stickers reading "Kill a Queer for Christ" appeared in Miami.

As SOC began to pose a real threat to gay rights not only in Miami but around

the country, gays mobilized to fight back.

Supporters organized fundraising efforts in many cities. Demonstrations were organized to protest Bryant's public appearances (in the Twin Cities Bryant dedicated a fruit market and 1,200 pro-gay demonstrators designated it "National Fruit Day"). In some cities groups promoted a Florida citrus boycott. Experienced political campaigners joined the Dade County Coalition for Human Rights, which directed the fight to save the ordinance.

Bryant's close connections with the right wing and her conservative views on God, country and motherhood were reflected in SOC's campaigning.

Bryant has spoken out against the ERA. "I don't like the fact that many of the proclaimed leaders of the ERA are lesbians," she says. SOC's campaign also parallels right wing anti-ERA efforts such as those of Phyllis Schlafly. Both share an emotionalism and tendency to stereotypes.

The ERA was defeated in Florida during SOC's campaign; some legislators who had been expected to vote for ERA were quoted as saying that SOC propaganda influenced them to vote no.

While Bryant was the most visible spokesperson for SOC, she was not alone. Gov. Reubin Askew of Florida spoke against gay rights as did several Miami newspapers.

Among SOC's most powerful allies were conservative religious groups—Baptists, other fundamentalist Protestants, Roman Catholics and orthodox Jews. SOC and Bryant frequently quoted the Bible in their support and even suggested that the drought in California was God's punishment for passing pro-gay laws there.

The reading of a pastoral letter to Catholic congregations calling for repeal of the legislation a few weeks prior to the election was crucial. The Catholic church has done this before to defeat gay rights legislation and to defeat pro-abortion state legislators.

SOC is only one part of a rising anti-gay backlash around the nation. Passage of gay rights bills in Minnesota, Illinois, New York and elsewhere has been blocked. Courts have upheld the right of employers to fire someone solely because they are gay. The Supreme Court also recently upheld a Virginia law that denied gays the right to privacy and allowed states to enforce sodomy laws only against gays.

This represents the beginnings of a turn away from an earlier trend toward liberalization when local communities passed gay rights laws with relatively little public furor. Dade County is only the first target. Bryant, for instance, has vowed to carry her campaign to such cities as Minneapolis and San Antonio.

Media boost.

The media boosted the upsurge of anti-gay sentiment. Series in the *Chicago Tribune* and other papers, for instance, on the sexual abuse of children focused almost entirely on the abuse of boys by male homosexuals in spite of statistics showing that the vast majority of child molestation (over 90 percent) consists of attacks by men on girls.

Directing concern with child abuse towards anti-gay attitudes, the series helped lead to hearings at local, state and national levels on child pornography and was immediately picked up by SOC in their Miami campaign.

One other result of the Miami cam-



Anita Bryant in her kitchen: What will she cook up next?

paign was that the gay community was united as never before; support for the Dade County Coalition for Human Rights came from groups and individuals that were diverse geographically and politically.

To Bryant's theme of "Save our children from homosexuality" gays responded that the real threat to children were the lies, distortions and anti-human attitudes and behavior of SOC.

The Dade County Coalition, whose slogan was "A day without human rights is a day without sunshine," saw the fight as linked to other human rights struggles and received some support. A group called Latinos for Human Rights helped the coalition, in spite of harassment, including the fire-bombing of a car owned by the group's leader.

Although the Bryant victory is a setback for gays, activists believe the newly unified movement will do better in future battles. The willingness of gays to come "out of the closet" and actively work for gay rights, even at the risk of harassment and physical violence, indicates growing self-confidence of the movement, and potential to combat the rising backlash.

Christine R. Riddiough is a lesbian rights activist in Chicago and founder of *Blazing Star*, a socialist/feminist lesbian group.

ENERGY

New department a victory for energy giants

By Judy MacLean
Staff Writer

Round one of Carter's battle for his energy plan clearly went to the multinational energy corporations last week as the House overwhelmingly (310-20) approved a bill creating a new Department of Energy (DOE). The Senate passed a similar bill in mid-May and a joint committee is now drafting the final bill, which Carter is expected to sign soon.

Seen as a prerequisite for implementing Carter's larger energy plan, the new department centralizes pricing, regulation, distribution, research and development under a new Secretary of Energy, almost certain to be James Schlesinger.

Among the bill's provisions:

- The new Energy department will take on all powers now held by the Federal Power Commission (FPC), the Federal Energy Administration (FEA) and Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), which will all be abolished as separate agencies. The department will also gather energy powers from a scattering of other federal agencies.

- A "semi-autonomous" regulatory body will set wellhead natural gas prices and rule on matters of interstate electric power, the only energy powers not directly under control of the secretary.

- The new department will have ultimate authority over the Interior department's ability to lease public lands for energy development.

- The new secretary will have authority

to use the armed forces to "carry out his functions."

An amendment introduced by John Conyers (D-Mich.) that would have given the new department the sole authority to import oil was defeated after much industry pressure.

The Carter plan would tie the price of domestic oil to OPEC prices, which are negotiated by the oil companies. Ev Ehrlich of Conyers staff, who worked on the drafted amendment, described how the energy multinationals "use OPEC as a veil to set higher base prices and victimize American consumers."

The OPEC countries, Ehrlich says, want a long term arrangement in which they could trade their mineral resources for technology. But the multinationals now do all they can to restrain development there to keep those countries "hooked" on Western technology.

If the federal government became the sole oil importer, it would have no interest in higher base prices. It would have to "face the fact that we have to rely on foreign sources of oil and begin a new and more equitable economic world order," Ehrlich says.

Schlesinger's control.

The new department inherits 20,000 employees from the agencies it replaces. A highly placed source says that to ensure his personal control of the new agency Schlesinger is recruiting top administrators from former associates at "think tanks and the

multinationals."

The semi-autonomous regulatory board for natural gas and interstate electricity is a result of an amendment by Rep. John E. Moss (D-Ca.). Claiming the bill vested too much power in a single individual, Moss successfully championed a five-person commission to take over regulatory powers now held by the FPC.

Conyers attempted to introduce an even stronger measure, making regulation of oil and uranium, as well as gas and electricity, the province of a commission totally outside the new DOE. That proposal failed.

"As it stands now," says Ehrlich, "the new commission will be just down the hall from Schlesinger." The commission's decisions, however, will fall under the "sunshine laws," while Schlesinger's can be made behind closed doors.

The new department's influence in federal lands-leasing could yield a windfall for the energy industry. Federal lands have the great bulk of the nation's future energy in the form of coal, offshore oil and uranium.

Theoretically, the government could make its own decisions on how best to exploit these resources and then contract management and operation functions to corporations. But current leasing agreements leave decisions to the multinationals, and their consideration is profit, not conservation or low energy prices for consumers.

In the past land leasing has been the

province of the Interior department, where Secretary Cecil Andrus is considered relatively sympathetic to environmental and consumer concerns for safety and fair prices. Shifting final authority away from Interior (which does retain some immediate authority), to the new Energy department is viewed with apprehension. Schlesinger is considered to be less responsive to environmental concerns and more responsive to the needs of the energy multinationals.

An energy secret police.

Many observers have also voiced fears that the new department's ability to use the armed forces to "carry out its functions" will lead to widespread abuse. They fear that such police powers might be invoked against those, like Native American groups in the West, unwilling to see their lands destroyed for the needs of the energy companies.

Others fear that the department's police power might easily be used to create "energy secret police." Such a police force could easily interpret its preventive functions broadly, and like the FBI during the anti-war days, infiltrate, spy on and sabotage groups opposing the administration's energy policies.

Ehrlich, for instance, questions whether the new department might be a step on the way to a more authoritarian state. "It's state planning for energy, but planning in a way that pursues the private sector's planning objectives," he says. ■

URBAN DISORDER

Police provoke Chicago riot

By David Moberg
CHICAGO—Early in the day the flags were up. They were red, white and blue, but they were the banner of Puerto Rico, not the United States. They were flying across the streets of the Humboldt Park neighborhood on Chicago's near-northwest side. They were stuck in the grilles of cars crawling down Division Street.

Saturday, June 4, was Puerto Rican Day in Chicago, time for a parade of commercially sponsored floats and aspiring politicians down State Street, time as well for the usual picnic afterwards in Humboldt Park. Like nearly every other ethnic group in this city of strong ethnicities, the Puerto Ricans were granted their day of harmless celebration of heritages.

By nightfall the picnic had turned to riot. Angry police were burning the flags and taunting the people who live in the crowded apartments above stores on Division Street, the broad commercial avenue near the park made famous by Studs Terkel's book. Young people from the neighborhood, where a majority of Chicago's estimated 300,000 Puerto Ricans live, were stoning the police and breaking into a few stores—the Fair Share supermarket, White's department store, the currency exchange—and setting fires.

Two young Puerto Rican men were killed, shot in the back—at least one and perhaps both—by the police. Eventually at least 85 people, including 43 policemen, were injured, over 100 arrested in disturbances that were renewed again on a small scale Sunday night. Later in the week police discovered the body of a man burned to death in one of the fires.

Far less serious than the urban riots of the '60s, the incident was mainly a confrontation with police over what most people in the community—even those angry at the gauge—thought was excessive police force.

Thousands of people had gathered in the large park for a hot day of eating, drinking and partying, which had been marked by occasional rowdiness but no serious problems until late in the afternoon. Although accounts given are conflicting and murky, this appears to be what happened:

Late in the afternoon a group of about a dozen members of the Insane Spanish Cobras painted the name of their gang across a green and black flag. ("Insane" is a favored gang name in Chicago, implying someone so unpredictable that sane people will stay clear, as in "Insane FBI Gangsters.") As they paraded their "colors" through the park, they encountered a group of 30 to 40 Latin Kings, according to the Cobras. A fight erupted when the Latin Kings tried to pull down the flag. One Cobra was shot.

According to the Cobras, the fight was cooled out and they left the park.

One witness said that police began arriving in force 10 minutes later—roughly 6 p.m.—and told everyone to leave the park. There were also accounts of police roughly breaking up a game of dice and arresting a man with a beer bottle who said he wasn't leaving. At one point someone threw several bricks at the police, who put on their riot gear and



Resident Rafael Rosado describes police attack on his community.

Jane Melnick

Witnesses describe police breaking up the pavement and throwing fragments at people and cars.

charged into the crowd, striking people with clubs.

Confusion surrounds the shooting of Julio Osorio, 26, and Rafael Cruz, 25. Police gave two possibly conflicting accounts. At one point they said two officers were threatened by a "kneeling gunman" aiming at them and they opened fire. The other story was that Cruz was shot by Osorio, who then was shot by police. Evidence that both men were shot in the back with .38 caliber bullets, the standard police issue, raises serious questions

about the two official stories.

There were reports that the fighting died down after police were withdrawn, but the police returned and the conflict spread to Division Street, where small groups of young men broke into the stores.

Although in most instances there was only a crowd of 200 to 300 throwing rocks at the police, other people in the neighborhood reportedly cheered them. The police were the main target of the anger, especially after they started sweeps into the park and through the streets, beating and ar-

resting bystanders.

Community leaders accused the police of overreacting.

"We concluded that the incident—although there are different versions as to who triggered the riots—was the responsibility of the police superintendent and Mayor Michael Bilandic for really unnecessary showing of police in the area, which triggered tremendous hostility," Mecca Sorrentini, a member of the Puerto Rican People's Rights Committee, said. "They used excessive force on those doing wrong and then attacked innocent civilians."

There was some speculation that police may have been angered by a small bomb blast set off in the County Building earlier in the day. It was reportedly claimed by the FALM (Armed Forces of National Liberation), a secretive group that advocates bombings as a way to win independence for Puerto Rico. Also, some Puerto Ricans in the neighborhood were angry about police searches and harassment during the previous week, following the shooting of a narcotics agent in the neighborhood.

People in the neighborhood said that police stationed in the area Saturday night and Sunday beat up, insulted and harassed passersby. Mrs. Genoveva Vasquez, who came to Chicago from Puerto Rico 25 years ago, said, "The police brutality was real bad. They were real aggressive, pushing people with clubs. They were very inhuman. They didn't act like people who had any feelings for other people. A young guy was sitting eating food and five or six policemen grabbed his hair and beat his head and his genital parts with their billy clubs."

"The Americans (Anglos) passing in cars, they let go. But anybody who was Puerto Rican they would call names and beat on their car, especially if they had a Puerto Rican flag. They told one young woman she couldn't pass them. 'You Puerto Rican?' they asked. She said, 'Yes.' 'We could smell you a block away, you Puerto Rican bitch,' they said. They weren't protecting. They were provoking."

She and other witnesses said that police broke up the pavement and threw concrete fragments at people and cars, broke windshields, smashed a car into a nearby telephone pole, called people insulting names, hit old people and bystanders, burned Puerto Rican flags while singing the U.S. national anthem and taunted people in the apartment buildings saying, "Chicken, come and fight."

Sunday, after a morning of leisurely picking usable items out of the rubble of the burned stores, a small crowd formed in the park. After a day of tension between the crowd and police, another fight erupted Sunday night. But by Monday the situation had returned to near normal.

Police handling of the Humboldt Park incident contrasts sharply with their response to an incident last summer when a crowd of more than 1,000 whites pelleted police and a group of black and white marchers with bricks, bottles and sticks for almost an hour. In that case the police neither pulled their guns nor charged the crowd.

Multiple problems underlie Chicago disorder

The two-day riot in Humboldt Park was over and the Insane Spanish Cobras were back to playing basketball in the makeshift dirt court behind the Checker Burger stand. A few broken windows on buildings and cars were the main reminders of the clash between police and some residents a few nights earlier.

Across the street a small group of neighbors were excitedly talking about police abuse and the problems of the community. "More than anything we need better housing," one woman said. "My landlord doesn't want to fix nothing. The city inspectors wouldn't come. I had to move."

Jose Becerra, 28, who learned to be a paramedic in the army after dropping out of high school, said, "The assistant

principal at the high school is not like a principal. He's more like a policeman. That kind of person you're not supposed to have in school."

Carlos Flores, 22, another drop-out now going to community college, griped that "the junkies get more welfare than the old people. Also, I'm trying to learn how to play tennis. The tennis court here has been the same for 15 years—rough cement and the nets aren't fixed."

Rafael Rosado, 19, who left high school in his senior year because "I didn't like how it was run," complained that a bank employment director changed the requirements for the job when Rafael showed up an identified himself as Puerto Rican. "I've applied for lots of jobs. The first thing they do is look at me and

then they say, 'We'll call you tomorrow.'"

But the main problem, Rafael, an articulate young man with a goatee, said, is that "we need someone political to back us up. The first thing we need is an alderman."

The Humboldt Park neighborhood, part of a larger community immediately northwest of Chicago's downtown that is also called West Town, does have an alderman, or actually two of them. Officially their city council representative is Adeline Keane. Unofficially it is her husband, Thomas Keane, for years the second most powerful man in the Daley machine.

Now Keane runs the aldermanic post—referred to by his wife as "the family business"—from federal prison, where he's

serving a five-year term for his conviction on 17 counts of mail fraud and one conspiracy charge.

Although Humboldt Park is now between 40 and 60 percent Puerto Rican, with a few blacks and Mexicans and the balance older Italian, Polish, Ukrainian and other East European families, the Keane machine has taken little notice of them or their needs. Asked once what she intended to do for the Latinos in her district, Adeline Keane responded, "We'll teach them Latin when they get to school."

Chicago's block of Latinos—encompassing Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Cubans and a sprinkling of immigrants from other South American countries—is gen-

Continued on page 8.

ENERGY

Insulation plan moves ahead

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

In Jimmy Carter's moral war against energy waste the battle for home insulation seemed likely to bring loyal recruits from Congress. But last week the House Ways and Means committee barely approved, 13 to 12, a modified tax credit for home weatherization.

Serious flaws in the program, some of which led to congressional opposition, illustrate how hard it is for the government to intervene effectively on energy affairs without tackling inequities of income distribution, especially when it insists on relying on private profit incentive rather than direct public action.

The administration's proposal would have enticed people to make conservation investments by allowing tax credits for 25 percent of the first \$800 and 15 percent of the next \$1,400 spent on insulation, caulking, storm windows and related improvements.

The Ways and Means committee approved instead a tax credit for 20 percent of money spent, up to a maximum of \$400.

Since one-fifth of the nation's energy goes to heat and cool buildings and the majority of existing buildings could be economically rehabilitated to save nearly half of their current energy requirements, "weatherization" of homes alone could save the energy equivalent of 250,000 barrels of oil per day or \$20 billion over the 20-year life of the improvements, according to the Federal Energy Administration.

One FEA study concluded that "gas in the attic," energy saved through conservation, is cheaper than gas or other fuels pumped from underground reservoirs. In a northern state like Michigan, where nearly 80 percent of the homes are inadequately insulated, the cost of gas saved through conservation would be \$1 per thousand cubic feet compared with current gas prices of \$1.42 per thousand cubic feet.

If gas prices are raised or new heat sources are brought in—such as synthetic gas or electric heating—the conservation savings would be even greater. On the other hand, if natural gas now sold anywhere near the current costs of production, rather than at its inflated market price, insulating would not be such a bargain, once again pointing up the problems of relying on pricing mechanisms for energy planning.

Tax credits are regressive.

Tax credits are designed to speed up the process of weatherizing homes, since people often find it difficult to make an investment today that will only pay off over a long time. Tax credits also are a backdoor, unsupervised "negative" spending, long popular with a large bloc in congress, including many who would vote against direct government expenditure.

But many tax reformers criticize the tool. "In all cases I'm skeptical about the use of the tax system for purposes like these," Joseph Pechman, tax expert and director of economic studies at the Brookings Institution, says. "It tends to be ineffective by comparison with direct grants and tends to be inequitable. It deals out people who are not taxable."

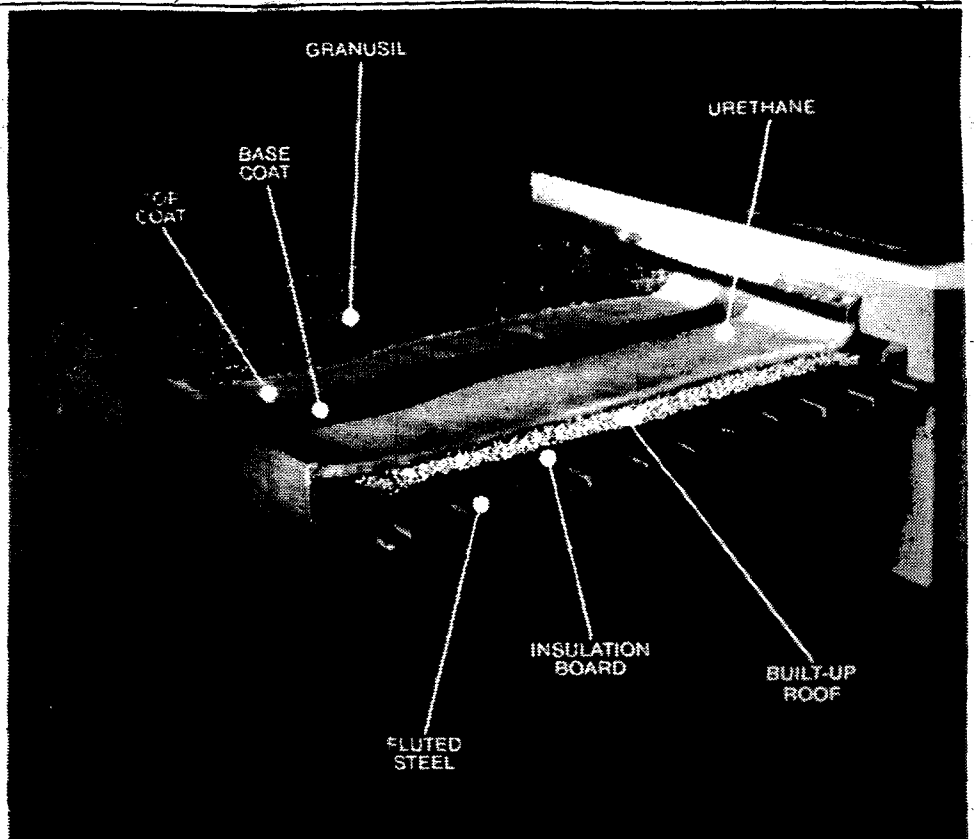
Members of the Ways and Means committee, citing a study by the Congressional Budget Office, also objected that weatherization paid for itself in fuel savings and did not require further incentive. The administration argued that the tax incentive would speed up installation.

The Carter plan and the Ways and Means version both offer tax credits rather than deductions from taxable income,

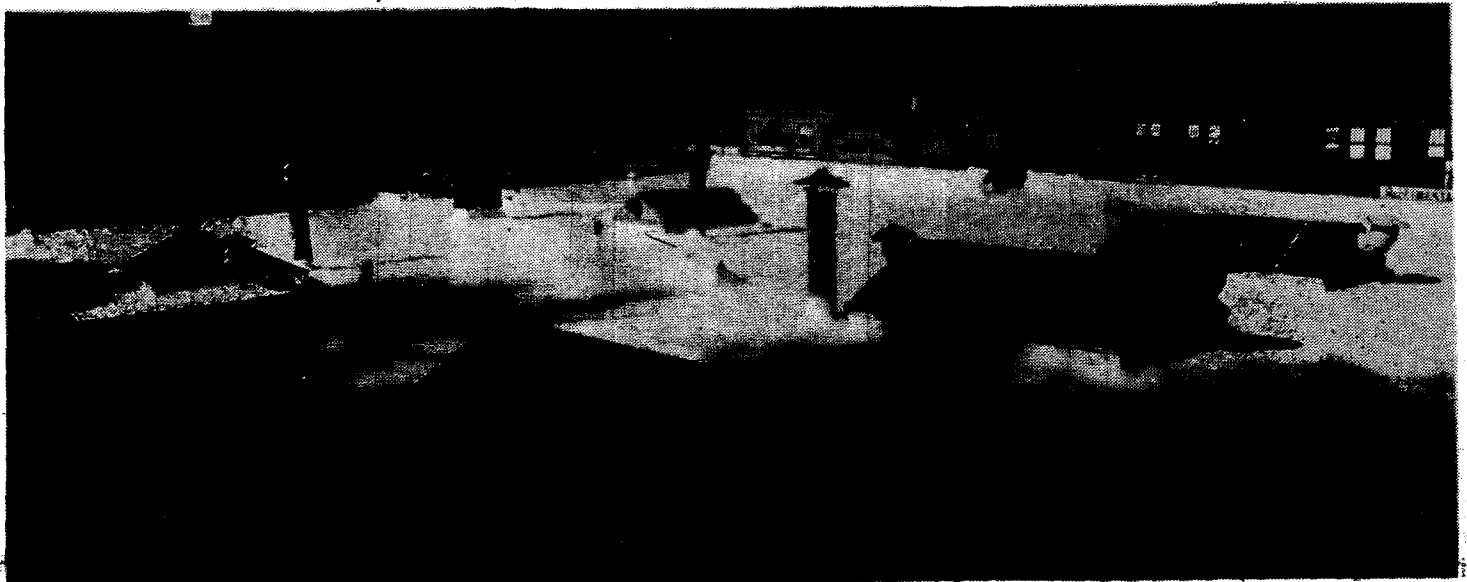
which benefit people in higher tax brackets more. The House committee rejected a Carter proposal to grant refunds to those who pay little or no tax, thus denying assistance to those who need it most.

Both plans give the same credit to the rich, who don't need it, as to the poor. Since poor people are most likely to live in old, drafty, poorly insulated buildings and have less ability to pay, the most effective and equitable program would be one that concentrated benefits among lower-income families.

Just as "it takes money to make money," it takes money to save money. And the



A big push for insulation will undoubtedly raise the costs of insulating material such as that above, which was used to insulate the building below.



poor, curiously enough, don't have much money. The insulation plan tries to confront that problem in two ways. First, all public utilities will have to offer some kind of plan for energy conservation loans to customers, who can then repay the loan on their monthly bills.

Second, current federal home mortgage agencies will be directed to purchase loans for home energy conservation improvements from banks and savings and loans, just as they do now for houses. Theoretically that will encourage financial institutions to loan more money for house energy savings.

One acceptable plan for the utilities, now under consideration in several states, would be a particular boondoggle. Proposed by former FEA official William Rosenberg, the plan would mandate utilities to install reasonable conservation devices in all customer homes.

The hitch is that such equipment would then become part of the utility's "rate base," which is used to calculate their guaranteed profit. In conjunction with likely rate increases to pay the costs of equipment installation, such a program would greatly boost utility revenues. Rosenberg has also called for a guaranteed 17 percent return on utility investments for conservation.

Energy economist Charles Teclaw and Environmental Action Foundation utility expert Rich Morgan both call the Rosenberg plan "disastrous." In addition to providing excessive profits, it would grant utilities a new monopoly in an otherwise highly competitive market.

Morgan goes farther in criticizing the utilities' role. "We've always been skeptical of any program involving the utilities," he said. "They have a built-in conflict. Insulation depresses their sales. Basically utilities don't see energy conservation as we do, as an alternative to building more power plants. The Rosenberg plan would be an excuse to use energy conservation as a way of utilities making more profit. That could drive up costs and make energy conservation too expensive. I would prefer to see people get financing

through federal agencies than through utilities."

Since many people will not be able to afford any extra payment to the utility or bank even if it saves them money in the long run, the Carter plan expands existing programs for weatherizing low-income homes. For the current fiscal year the FEA recently received \$27.5 million and the Community Services Administration \$110 million for energy conservation in low-income homes. Most of the money goes for materials, while the work is usually done by unemployed workers hired under the CETA (Community Employment and Training Act) program for around \$2.50 an hour.

One apartment building in Chicago's poor Uptown neighborhood had its broken windows replaced, roof insulated and weatherstripping and basement window shutters installed under the CSA program last winter. More could have been done, but the limit of \$350 per unit had been reached.

Although the repairs were largely responsible for a 30 percent cut in energy demand, rising fuel costs and a cold winter still pushed up the heating bill by 40 percent, suggesting the hurdles in the way of even the best plans to reduce energy costs.

That repair of an apartment building was unusual. If it had not been cooperatively run, owned by a non-profit agency, and filled with people below the qualifying income limit (\$6,875 for a family of four), it would never have received help.

One of the major weaknesses of the insulation plan is that it provides little help for renters. Most landlords have no incentive to save energy, since renters are either billed directly by utilities or pay through higher rents for energy costs—which have risen from 11 percent to over 20 percent of apartment operating costs in recent years in Chicago.

Since two-thirds of all housing in a big city like Chicago is rental and the vast majority of the poor rent, the plan—even with its direct assistance—will not adequately aid the poor. Carter's proposal

to raise funding for the weatherization plan to \$130 million next year and \$200 million for following years could be easily absorbed by poor homeowners.

If the plan succeeds in stimulating energy conservation investments, there could be new problems. Richard Kuchnicki, a spokesman for the National Association of Home Builders, admits that increased weatherization "probably will drive [insulation] prices up quite a bit." Since the fiberglass insulation industry—now supplying over half the nation's insulation—is monopolized by three large companies, they will be in a position to reap windfall profits.

Kuchnicki also admits that there will undoubtedly be serious problems of quality control on products and fraud by the already scandal-prone home repair industry as demand escalates.

Despite its gestures of concern for low-income people, the insulation plan falls far short of taking care of their needs. A more direct program of public action, such as expanding the current CSA and FEA weatherization project (with increases in CETA wages to union levels) and providing direct federal grants or loans with interest rates graded according to ability to pay, would probably get the job done more quickly, thoroughly, effectively and fairly.

Although most experts questioned thought such a plan would be good, the obstacle is political. As one city official supervising a weatherization program observed, "The private sector would probably not look favorably upon that. I don't think it's politically feasible." And Robert Podlasch, on the staff of the Illinois Commerce Commission, said, "The utilities would fight that. They cling to free enterprise kind of ideas. They fight any government intervention except to guarantee their rates."

One of the best parts of the Carter energy plan has been weakened and made far less progressive by compromising public interest with capitalist, or "private sector," pressures. Unfortunately, the government is not well insulated against such storms.

LABOR

The long road to Texas

By Dan Marshall
Staff Writer

Through strikes, boycotts and political lobbying, the United Farm Workers union (UFW) has dragged the feudal barons of California agribusiness into the 20th century. In the process the name of Cesar Chavez, president of the UFW, has become synonymous with the strivings of migrant workers for decent working conditions, human dignity, and the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Two thousand miles away, in the southeastern panhandle of Texas, agricultural labor relations and the living conditions of farmworkers still resemble the Middle Ages. There, another migrant, rapidly becoming the Cesar Chavez of the Rio Grande valley, has spent 10 years battling the combined forces of hostile growers, brutal police and the desperate poverty of his people.

Antonio Orendain is a 48-year-old activist from Jalisco, Mexico, who came to this country in 1951 to work with the UFW. He now heads the Texas Farm Workers union (TFW).

Texas farmworkers among poorest.

The living and working conditions of Texas migrant workers are among the worst in the country. The Department of Commerce recently named the metropolitan area of McAllen, Texas, as "the poorest in America" with a per capita income of \$2,343, half the national average. Seventy percent of the state's farmworker families live in overcrowded conditions. Due to inadequate health care, typhus, typhoid and leprosy are more prevalent in Hidalgo County, Texas, than anywhere else in the U.S.

While the state's minimum wage is \$1.30 an hour, many farmworkers end up with much less. "If you are picking green peppers, for example, you might get only \$2.00 or \$3.00 a day," Orendain recently told *IN THESE TIMES*.

Efforts to organize these workers have encountered violent resistance from the state's power structure. TFW organizers have been shot and Orendain's life has been threatened.

He tells one story about a strike of onion workers in Pecos where the state police, county police and FBI were called in. "A state police officer checked my driver's license and the mechanical condition of my car, and since he couldn't find anything else wrong, he began writing me a ticket because the high beam on my lights was not bright enough. This was 11:00 in the morning."

"As he was writing, a grower shows up and says, 'Orendain, I talked to the sheriff already and he told us that if you don't move out of this county by tonight, we can kill you.' I said that I think it is against the law to threaten the life of someone, especially in front of a police officer."

But when Orendain asked the officer to be a witness to the threat, he was less than cooperative. "All the officer said was, 'I'm sorry, but this is freedom of speech.'"

This incident is a relatively mild example of the state's hostile reaction to farmworkers organizing drives. Those efforts began in 1966 during a strike of melon pickers. Orendain was then serving as secretary-treasurer of the National Farm Workers Association, the precursor to the UFW, and had helped to organize a grape boycott in Chicago.

The Texas melon strike involved some 400 workers in Starr County and successfully shut every packing shed in the area. As the melons began to rot, growers recruited Mexican nationals to break the strike. (A loophole in the state's immigration law allows Mexicans to obtain "green cards" to work temporarily in the U.S.) The farmworkers slowly returned to work.



Antonio Orendain

Raymond Flores

When UFW leaders came to Texas in 1975 to tell Antonio Orendain, for the second time in ten years, that he had to abandon the Texas farmworkers in the interests of the UFW nationwide, he refused... The upshot was the formation of the Texas Farmworkers union.

Several months after the strike started Orendain and Gilbert Padillo, another UFW official, were sent by the union to assist the strikers and organize a stable union structure.

Although they eventually signed up some 3,000 workers, the melon strike was smashed by the Texas Rangers, an elite corps of state police directly controlled by the governor.

The rangers "beat up our people, threw us in jail on funny charges, and violated our civil rights in many ways," says Orendain. (In 1972, a federal court ruled that the Rangers had illegally sided with the growers.)

By the summer of 1967 the union had built a small group of dedicated followers who set out to stop the harvest. Their strategy was to stop Mexican nationals first, and then pull out the local workers.

In cooperation with Mexico's trade union federation Orendain and other TFW supporters blocked the international bridge at Roma, Texas, the main entry point for Mexican workers. Their non-violent action was initially successful, but was again halted by the Texas Rangers who arrested hundreds and critically beat several farmworkers.

Faced with disastrous strikes, huge bail costs and militant tactics, the UFW balked at placing more time and energy into Texas. The UFW was subordinating organizing drives throughout the country to boycott activities in support of the California farmworkers. Following Chavez's

orders, Orendain reluctantly left Texas to help administer strikes in Delano, California.

In 1969 he returned to the Rio Grande valley and turned his organizing efforts toward providing social services to farmworkers (legal advice, medical care, etc.) and promoting solidarity between Mexican and American workers.

"It was easy to see in 1966-67 that the strikebreakers were coming from Mexico and that there was a communication gap. In 1969 we tried to close that gap by starting the Voice of the Farmworker, a daily radio program that was heard as far away as Guatemala. Through this program and our newspaper, we put across the message that poor people are being exploited in the U.S. and Mexico, so we must be united to better our conditions."

Disagreement with Chavez.

In May 1975 farmworkers in Starr County again rebelled. As organizers leafleted "green-cards" coming across the border, some 1,500 people gathered and marched to a nearby ranch to persuade the workers to strike. The ranch supervisor C.L. Miller charged that they were trespassing and opened fire on the demonstrators. Eleven were shot.

As the human and financial costs of the strikes grew, UFW leaders again arrived in Texas to tell Orendain to call off the strikes because of limited national resources.

Now in open disagreement with Chavez, Orendain refused to scrap 10 years

of experience in Texas to consolidate the national boycotts of grapes and lettuce. He explained to the people that their strikes would receive no more support from the UFW if they continued. "They asked me: are you going to leave us again like in 1967? Chavez wanted to organize California first, to make it a masterpiece. But California is not going to be finished for five to ten years. I had spent 10 years telling people to do something for the people in California. But the farmworkers in Texas said: when are we going to do something for us."

An independent union.

On Aug. 14, 1975, Orendain and other organizers left the UFW and formed the Texas Farm Workers, an independent union. Their split was also encouraged by the UFW's practice of cooperating with the immigration service to expel "illegal aliens" from the U.S.

The UFW has since reversed its approach towards illegals, but the question is an accurate reflection of political differences between Chavez and Orendain.

"For me, the farmworkers who come across the border are not just illegals, they are human beings trying to make a living. They need the same amount of money to live as anybody else.

"The free enterprise system is beautiful if you have money, profession or education. But the farmworkers have none of these. Their only free enterprise is if I'm hungrier than you, I have to work cheaper. Along the border, who is more hungry than those who live in Mexico? That's why they come here and are forced to work harder and cheaper."

He places the main blame on the growers who perpetuate this system and the politicians who condone low wages, police brutality and right to work laws.

"The growers like to create a big surplus of labor so that the prevailing wage can go lower and lower. If employers were forced to pay the same money to those doing the same job, they would not make such a profit. That's why they feel so threatened by our union."

Little reliance on government.

Orendain hopes that his union can avoid the competitive, defensive posture of many trade unions.

"Now everybody is organized to protect themselves. But farmworkers have nothing to protect since we're at the bottom of the social barrel. We have to reverse the whole thing so that a union is not to protect your trade but to help each other as human beings.

"What we're asking for is the basic human right to decide whether or not to join a union. Carter talks a lot about human rights in other countries. How about some human rights for farmworkers?" he asks.

While calling for federal legislation to ensure elections and collective bargaining, Orendain puts more faith in popular mobilization than on the good will of Democratic or Republican politicians.

"Under the free enterprise, capitalist system, the government is only a shield used by a few rich people to protect themselves and to make laws that will make them richer," he charges.

"Believing in politics is like believing in one God to solve all your problems. Always you believe that one God, one politician, or one leader will do the job. But we have to start on our own two feet and do our own work."

Through a planned march from Texas to Washington D.C. which will end on Labor Day, Orendain hopes to build a network of support and garner more public exposure for the Texas farmworkers.

He doesn't expect much from the Carter administration. "I don't fight with the hopes to win," he says, "but to die in fighting. As someone once said, I prefer to die on my two feet than to live on my two knees."

ELECTIONS

A black mayor wins in Oakland

By Bill Northwood

OAKLAND, CALIF.—Backed by the Black Panther party, the Democratic party and most of organized labor, state superior court judge Lionel J. Wilson was elected Oakland's first black mayor in a May 17 runoff election, ending decades of white Republican control of City Hall.

Wilson captured 54 percent of the votes in the runoff to defeat Dave Tucker, a Republican securities executive who had the full backing of Oakland's outgoing mayor and the city's business establishment. Wilson had been the front-runner all along, thanks both to his long record of community service and strong Democratic support in a city where more than 70 percent of the voters are Democrats.

What stunned everyone was Wilson's coattail strength. Every candidate on the Democratic slate topped by Wilson's name won.

Although Wilson boasted during the campaign of endorsements by a few prominent Republicans and businessmen, he won by putting together a local version of the traditional Democratic coalition: liberals and the left, labor and blacks, including the Panthers whose weekly newspaper sometimes looked like a Wilson campaign tract, directed less at the dispossessed than at Oakland's numerous black homeowners.

Democratic officeholders—even Gov. Jerry Brown—also helped with endorsements.

Unions joined wealthy liberals and blacks in enabling Wilson to match Tucker's \$160,000-plus war chest—an unprecedented level of spending in an Oakland municipal race. And all helped mobilize the hundreds of volunteers who

papered 300 of the city's 425 precincts with that crucial Democratic slate card on election eve and helped turn out the vote in vital precincts on election day.

Wilson the candidate claimed to offer voters a choice between "business as usual" and "progressive government." But Wilson the mayor-elect seems to be shying away from some of the implications of the options he posed.

"My administration is not and will not be anti-business and I don't interpret my election as a repudiation of business," he told a post-election press conference. "I expect to have strong support and cooperation from the business community."

Yet public funds, not private investment, will be the new mayor's main tool in addressing problems Oakland shares with other cities—high unemployment, a declining industrial base, crime. The ties to elected Democrats in Sacramento and Washington that proved so useful during the campaign also hold the key to the future.

Wilson faces some significant obstacles. For one thing, Oakland's strong city manager/weak mayor form of government limits any mayor's power. There's almost no patronage; members of city advisory boards and commissions aren't paid and have their options set out by full-time staff with their own bureaucratic imperatives. And given the city's dependence on the property tax as a revenue source, costly new social service programs seem unlikely unless the state or federal governments pick up the tab.

Wilson's first big test will come soon after he takes office when he'll have to fill two vacancies on the Board of Port Commissioners, the virtually auto-



Claire Greenfield

The question facing Lionel Wilson is whether he will be able to hold together the diverse coalition that backed his election. For sure, he will not be able to please everybody.

mous body that runs the city's bustling marine terminals and related enterprises.

Most observers expect one seat will go to "labor" and the other to a "minority."

What conservatives dread is the possible appointment of Black Panther party chairperson Elaine Brown, who backed Wilson as strongly as he supported her losing city council campaign in 1975.

Considered a "moderate" even

before he spent 15 years as a judge, Wilson held together a disparate coalition because he looked like a winner. Everybody expects to have access and influence but of course not everybody will.

Wilson may find that his most difficult task as mayor will be reconciling the interests of all the groups and individuals who were in his camp in 1977 so he will still have a coalition in 1979.

Bill Northwood is a freelance writer in the Bay area.

Puerto Rican plight

Continued from page 5.

erally so invisible that they aren't even well counted. A recent study from Northwestern University's Center for Urban Affairs calculated that there are probably 870,000 Latinos, or 25 percent of the city's population, not the 7.3 percent registered in the last official census. Puerto Ricans make up about one-third of the Latinos.

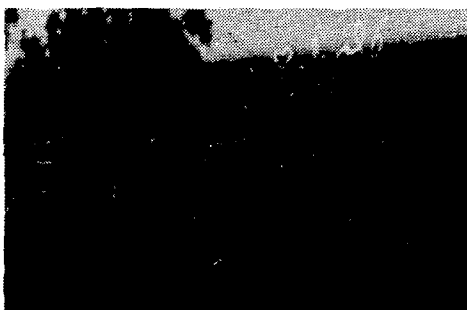
Sliding deeper into poverty.

They are a people plagued by all the inner city ills, but with virtually no political organization or power. They share the fate of Puerto Ricans throughout the country, described by a report from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights last October as sliding deeper and deeper into poverty and joblessness rather than making progress over the past decade.

Median family income for Puerto Rican families in 1975 was \$7,629, well below the \$12,836 median income for all U.S. families and less than the average for both blacks and other Spanish-speaking people.

Although the Humboldt Park riots were not political protests aimed at changing conditions, the long string of disadvantages and hardships suffered by Puerto Ricans in Chicago contributed to the tension and anger that eventually exploded.

Humboldt Park and West Town are long established working-class neighborhoods. Although modest and old, the housing is still sound. Commercial areas are tacky but still bustling. There are crime problems, but less serious than in the poorest black neighborhoods.



Gang turf-marking

More jobs, more income and some aid from the city would make it a solid neighborhood. Instead the people living there receive a tiny trickle of aid and may be driven out as speculators rehabilitate their homes for middle-income whites and the city once again "urban removes" them through its Chicago 21 development plan.

Problems.

Here are some of the problems of the community, especially for the Puerto Ricans living there:

- Unemployment is estimated at 30 percent, compared with 7 percent for the city as a whole. Forty percent of Latinos, compared with 17 percent of the city, work as "operatives" and those factory jobs are disappearing from the central city.

- Only 1.7 percent of all city jobs are held by Latinos. Even a smaller percentage are in the police and fire departments, an aggravation of the weekend confrontation.

- Many homes are being abandoned or put to the torch. Only one other neighborhood has had more fires. Landlords interested in insurance money or urban renewal payments, are prime suspects, according to community leaders. Much of the land is held in secret trusts.

Former Ald. Tom Keane and friends have already profited from real estate speculation such as the land parcel where the new Roberto Clemente high school was built. Their critics think that they are buying land in anticipation of

urban renewal profits.

- The same process that drove Puerto Ricans out of the Lincoln Park neighborhood, which is closer to Lake Michigan, a decade ago may soon be repeated in West Town. The same areas are being simultaneously declared blighted slums and eagerly bought up by real estate speculators. The Chicago 21 plan will probably restore some attractive old homes for rent at high prices and tear down much existing housing to construct middle-income town houses and apartments.

- Although a bilingual program was instituted two years ago in Chicago schools, Sijisfredo Aviles, director of the Ruiz Belvis Cultural Center, criticizes it as a limited experimental effort that is not required.

Over 70 percent of Puerto Rican students in Chicago drop out because they "are bored, find the school unresponsive to their cultural backgrounds, or feel compelled to obtain a job," according to the Civil Rights Commission study.

- "There have been gangs in this community for 50 years, first with the Germans and Jews," a community organizer said. "In the last few years it's gotten worse in terms of sophistication of weapons. There aren't more gangs or fighting, but when they do have a fight, it's more serious. People get killed, not just beat up."

The gangs also contribute their share to the arson and general crime problems. A study by the *Chicago Reporter* showed that people were roughly 50 percent more likely to be victims of an "index crime" (rape, murder, robbery and the like) in the Puerto Rican neighborhood than in Anglo neighborhoods.

Part of the problem is inadequate policing. During one month there was a total of 37 hours when police reported "no car available" for a call in one of the Humboldt Park districts. A northside, largely white neighborhood clocked less than one hour of "no car available" time

during the same month.

- While urban renewal money will probably be funneled into the pockets of politicians and their real estate cronies, community groups—such as the multiethnic Northwest Community Organization—criticize the city government for short-changing their area on community development grants. When CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) money to pay parent monitors in the schools was reduced last year, school discipline problems worsened, according to a community organizer.

- Politically, probably no group in the city fares as badly as the Puerto Ricans and other Latinos, who have very few effective community organizations. There are no Latinos from Chicago in Congress, the State Legislature or the City Council, which last had a Latino alderman a socialist—in 1918.

There is virtually no Latino representation in any place of power or influence in the city, including businesses, cultural institutions and most unions.

Latinos have special problems in organizing for political power. Language is a partial obstacle, but even more they are scattered throughout the city and often in integrated neighborhoods that dilute their bloc voting potential. Also, because they have been shifted around frequently by urban renewal and other forces, community ties are fragile. Militant Puerto Rican organizations, such as the now effectively defunct Young Lords, were also weakened by police harassment.

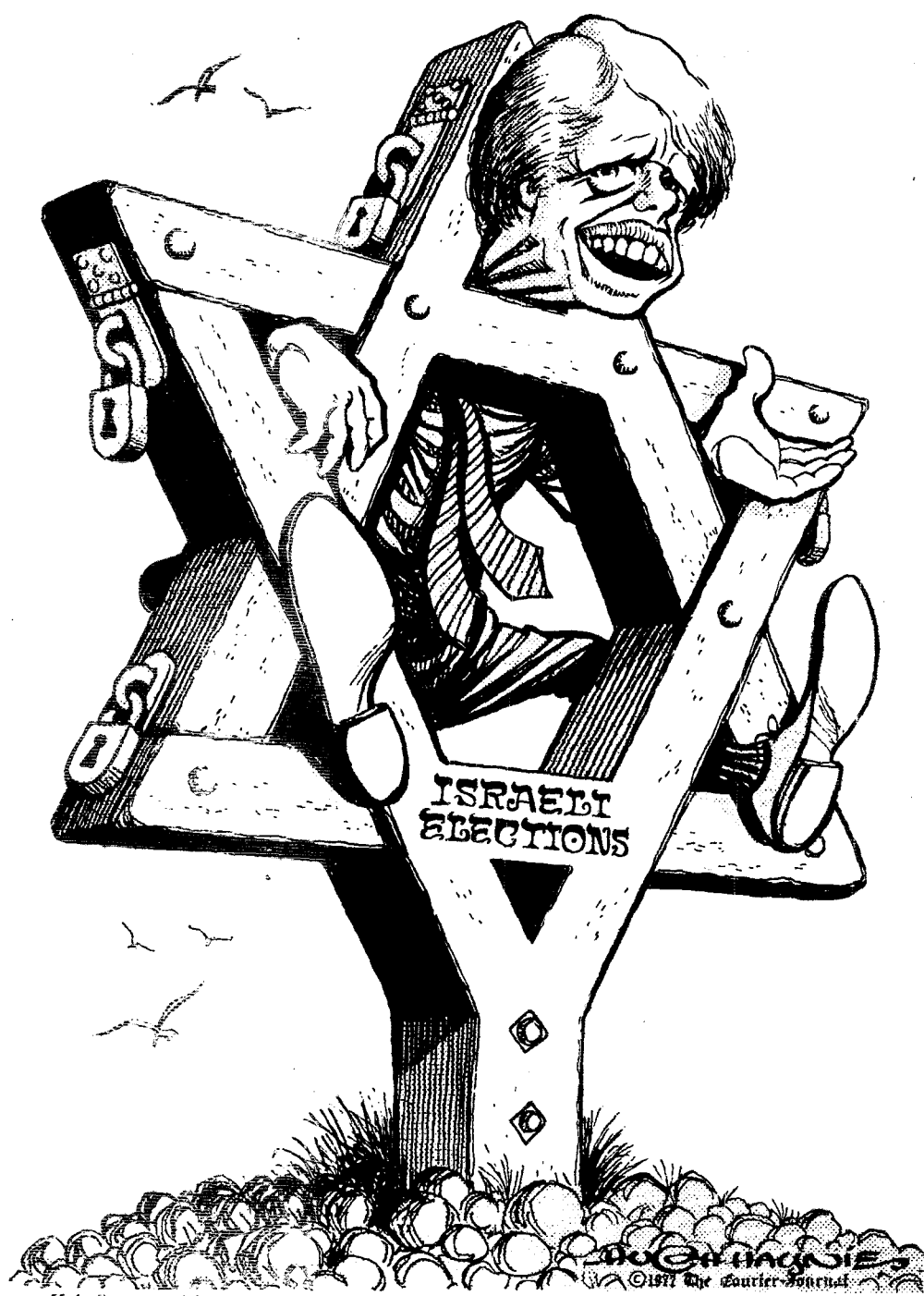
City power brokers rarely notice the Latinos—except for the parades on Puerto Rican Day or Mexican Independence Day—and when they do it is often with a disdainful snarl. "When we graduate," a young Puerto Rican woman, who finished high school two years ago, said, "the teachers don't say, 'Good-by.' They say, 'About time we got rid of you.'"

—David Moberg

IN THE WORLD

U.S./ISRAEL

Begin's win confounds Carter



"A funny thing happened on the way to the Mideast peace conference..."

Carter's hope for mideast peace rested on a Labor victory. Carter is now saying that Begin will also make peace concessions.

The results of the May 17 Israeli election stunned the Carter administration. Amazingly, they had no contingency plans for a Likud victory and a Labor defeat. Thus, Carter's attempt to move the contending parties in the Arab/Israeli conflict to the negotiating table became temporarily frozen.

Before the Israeli election Carter, who mostly develops his own Middle East policy, had made headway in convincing Arab leaders to negotiate at a conference with Israeli leaders. Egypt's Anwar Sadat, Jordan's King Hussein, and even Syria's Hafez al-Assad, in addition to Saudi leaders, were largely convinced that the U.S. would prevail upon Israel to retreat from most of the territories, occupied since June 1967, in order to achieve peace. According to Carter, only the question of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) participation in the negotiations remained problematic, but he was trying, apparently with some success, to convince Arab leaders to begin serious negotiations at a conference without the PLO's attending or participating in a first session.

But the surprising Likud victory and the forthcoming premiership of Men-

hem Begin has temporarily upset his applecart. The Likud position on the occupied territories is clear and unequivocal. Begin reiterated that position after the election: he spoke of liberated, not occupied territories; he claimed that these territories historically and religiously belonged to the Jews; he defended Jewish settlements in these territories. Begin declared that Palestinians had a "homeland" under Jewish occupation and, of course, rejected the idea of the Israeli government negotiating with the PLO.

Carter's play backfires.

With Begin's victory Carter has begun to fear that he will not be able to convince the Arab governments to negotiate with Israel. By the last week of May Carter sensed some American Jewish concern about Begin's hardline policies and reputation. He then decided to attempt to play that concern for his approach. In a May 26 press conference Carter said that he was hopeful that Begin would moderate Likud policies and that American Jewish leaders would temper the new Israeli prime minister.

Carter's ploy backfired. Many American Jewish leaders reacted negatively.

President Richard Maass and executive vice-president Bertram Gold of the American Jewish Committee, for example, declared: "The Jewish community cannot let itself be used as a pressure group on Israel by the administration." Commenting specifically on Carter's press conference statement, they stated: "It was a most unfortunate and unwarranted statement."

Other Jewish leaders reacted similarly. Faye Schenk, president of the American Zionist Federation, the umbrella organization of all Zionist groups in the country, declared: "We do not want to be used as a lever to influence the Israeli government on security matters." Carter's expressed hope that American Jewish leaders would temper Begin probably generated support for Begin and Likud in American Jewish ranks.

New claims.

Carter paid great attention to this American Jewish reaction. Moreover, he has listened closely to Shmuel Katz, the first Begin emissary to be sent to the U.S. On the basis of Katz's visit the Carter team are now suggesting that the Begin government, after acknowledging that the "liberated" (sic) territories belong to the Jews, will actually be willing to negotiate away those territories in order to achieve real peace.

The Carter strategy will be to attempt to sell this proposition to Arab leaders in the hope that Begin will not immediately contradict it. Additionally, Carter will attempt to buy time by making vague pronouncements, such as the necessity of the Palestinians' having a homeland. Such pronouncements can, of course, be variously defined and can, therefore, conceivably provide contextual frameworks for differing hopes.

Carter will also continue to talk around the central problems that exist between Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs. In this regard, Carter may mention the PLO from time to time but will not under present circumstances actually attempt to change the official American policy of non-recognition of and no direct contact with the PLO.

Despite his statements and protestations, the President will probably not attempt to pressure the in-coming Israeli government to return substantial parts of occupied territories and to agree to a Palestinian state entity on the West Bank and Gaza. And Carter's new claims to the contrary. Begin's government cannot realistically be expected to do these things on its own volition.

Arab leaders, if they do not yet know, will fully realize this soon. These Arab leaders may then become even more pessimistic about the possibilities of a negotiated settlement with the Israeli government and may reject out-of-hand Carter's plan to bring about negotiations.

A war in 1978.

Some observers have suggested that Carter wishes to stall for time in order to allow the economic situation in Israel and Egypt to worsen so that these two key states would be forced to accept American initiatives for peaceful settlement in exchange for increased American economic and technological aid. Egypt could conceivably lead the other Arab states to negotiate for settlement and in the end to accept a peace, mostly dictated by the U.S.

This argument, although intriguing, is unwarranted. Carter is not thinking along these lines. American aid to Israel is almost certain to continue regardless of Israeli government policies.

Sadat, for his part, cannot agree to a peaceful settlement in which Israel would retain these lands.

Other observers have proposed a contrary thesis. They argue that Carter wished the Labor government to fall from power and actually engineered the election results. American tactics supposedly varied from releasing to an Israeli reporter the Yitzhak Rabin bank account information to Carter's making certain policy pronouncements before the election that upset many Israeli voters. They contend that Carter actually wants to move the contending parties towards war. The outbreak of hostilities would enable the U.S. to manipulate affairs more easily for its own advantage and—probably in cooperation with Soviet leaders—to stop the war at any given time.

Although intriguing, this conspiratorial theory is invalid. There is voluminous evidence that the Israeli election results surprised and shocked Carter. It is unlikely that Carter wants war. Outbreak of large-scale war in the Middle East, which could directly involve the U.S. and USSR, would be far more threatening and problematic than peace.

For Jimmy Carter the incendiary situation in the Middle East is a reality. Among numerous Middle East concerns, Carter is most interested in oil and Israel's continued existence and security. But Carter lacks a sophisticated understanding of the basic issues of the Arab/Israeli conflict. His Middle East policy is in shambles and as such contributes to a scenario that may lead, regardless of Carter's desires, to a Middle East War in 1978.

Norton Mezvinsky is a professor of history at Central Connecticut State College and is co-editor of SWASIA, a bi-weekly news summary of events in Southwest Asia and Northern Africa.

ITALY

Abortion law defeated in Senate vote

The Italian Senate defeated by two votes an abortion bill that would have permitted abortion on demand for women over 16. The bill, which had passed the Chamber of Deputies in January, had been expected to pass, but the Christian Democrats, with support from the neo-fascist right, were able to marshal the necessary votes to defeat it.

The bill would have replaced the present law, dating from Mussolini's rule, that makes abortion a "crime against the race" and makes those performing abortions liable to two to five year prison terms. No one has been prosecuted under the law for many years. Two years ago a court ruled that abortions could be performed for reasons of mental or physical health, but left the decision to the doctor.

Women's organizations responded to the defeat by launching a campaign to gather 500,000 signatures for a national referendum on abortion next year.

The bill's defeat is expected to jeopardize continuing talks between the Communist party and the Christian Democrats. The Communists supported the abortion bill.

—John Judis

The Spanish elections: peaceful road where?



Communist Marcelino Camacho, leader of workers' commissions, speaks at rally.

INTERVIEW

Spanish Communist leader: "Elections not democratic"

Communist party officials in Spain view the election this week as being only a forerunner of a return to democracy in Spain. "These elections are not being held under democratic conditions," Jose Garcia Messeguer, a member of the Central Committee of the CPE, told IN THESE TIMES. "They are pre-democratic. The election laws were not written by those who are on the side of democracy. The authoritarian past is reflected in the bad electoral laws in which the provinces with a smaller population are benefited at the expense of the workers."

The main present aim of the Communist party, Messeguer said, is "to destroy the influence of the Francoists, those represented by the Alianza Popular under the leadership of Fraga. It is they who want to go back [to the days of Franco]. We are fighting for a coalition of the center and left that includes the Communists. It is a great political battle for us to open the doors for the future elections; mainly the forthcoming municipal elections which we hope will be held under a new democratic constitution."

Messeguer foresees a Spain in which the Communist party will play a major role. Messeguer said, "In Spain we've seen a very original movement from dictatorship to democracy, and it was due to the politics and policy of our party as far back as 20 years ago. It was the first to see the need for national reconciliation."

"National reconciliation," he emphasized, was not part of the past history of Spain. The Communist party of Spain adopted this concept, he said,

"because we had to recognize the reality, the facts." He explained that "the division among Spaniards was no longer in the trenches. Among those who had fought on the side of Franco there would be those who would be joining the so-called losers."

Just as there was the need to realize this new reality in Spain, Messeguer said, so too was there the need to adopt in Europe the concept of Eurocommunism, which he described as being "no more than the application of Marxism to concrete realities of the developed countries in Western Europe in our time." He said those who have considered Marxism a dogma have come up with a concept of petrified Marxism. He rejected the charge of "revisionism" against his party and emphasized that "nothing is stationary."

Like other representatives of his party, Messeguer refused to enter into discussions about other Communist parties, some of whom have critically and publicly censured the Communist party of Spain. He insisted, however, that all communist parties have had to adapt to the situations in their countries and so too has the Spanish party. The elections, while far from being representative, reflect the new reality of Spain, he said. The pro-Franco forces could no longer rule through anti-democratic means and will be less able to do so in the future, he predicted.

Sam Kushner, author of Long Road to Delano, has just returned from a five-week visit to Western Europe where he interviewed Communist party and trade union leaders.

Continued from page 3.

one of the most strike-prone countries in the world.

Working class opposition.

Leadership for the workers' commissions came mostly from the clandestine Communist party, the most feared and hated enemy of Franco's Spain. The Communists were soon joined by a new generation of Catholic workers radicalized by the trade union struggle and by various independent leftist groups. While coordinating the trade union struggle, the Communists were not able to build political unity in the workers' commissions. The past year has seen the formation of four rival trade union federations, the UGT, trade union arm of the Socialists, the Left Catholic USO, the anarchist CNT and a Maoist splinter from the Workers Commissions.

This working-class opposition was joined by a new generation of students and young professionals who had been exposed to the free cultural life of Western Europe and could no longer tolerate political and cultural repression. In their struggle for democracy many joined the Communists, giving substance to what the party's general secretary Santiago Carrillo called the alliance of labor and culture; some joined the Socialist PSOE, which was renovated and radicalized with the help of the French Socialists; others the innumerable socialist and revolutionary groups that have proliferated in recent years.

The new managerial middle class that was eager to imitate the consumer and cultural patterns of their French and German counterparts and the export-minded industrialists who found themselves excluded from the Common Market because of the absence of democracy also began to chafe under restrictions on their political and cultural freedom. Already in the '60s the regime began to accommodate these influential groups, removing prior press censorship and liberalizing its constitutional laws.

As opposition grew and consolidated itself around the left in the early '70s, many Francoist politicians came to see the danger of political immobility for the ruling class. Unless the process of democratization was accelerated under their control, it might soon erupt from below, led by the anti-capitalist left, with fateful consequences for the ruling oligarchy. They began receiving warnings in this direction from their American protectors, the CIA and State department, which was becoming alarmed at the left's growth.

Communists recognize monarchy.

The long-awaited death of Franco and accession of Juan Carlos in 1975 provided the opportunity. After an unsuccessful experience with Arias Navarro and Manuel Fraga, the King, with the advice of the American embassy, appointed the younger Suarez to steer the narrow course between left opposition and Francoist die-hards toward limited democracy. His government contained enough die-hards to placate the military establishment and enough liberals to step up the pace of reforms.

In the fall Suarez moved to legalize all major parties but the Communists, hoping to divide and conquer, but the opposition held firm and insisted that it would not accept elections without them. Placed in an extremely delicate position between the intractable military and the opposition, Suarez hedged, procrastinated and tried to pass the buck to the fascist Supreme Court. When at the last possible moment he finally conceded to the Communists he provoked the storm and fury of the entire military command, which felt justifiably betrayed.

The Communists, eager to escape from their ghetto of semi-clandestinity, had to accept the rules of the game. From the arrest of Carrillo in the fall to the assassination of the Communist lawyers in January, they refused to respond to the provocations of the extreme right. Their recent recognition of the monarchist flag—and in effect, the monarchist state—indicates how far they will go to prove their commitment to peaceful progress. The experience of armed struggle before 1950 and of mass struggle since 1956 has convinced them of the hopelessness of a revolutionary strategy geared to civil war.

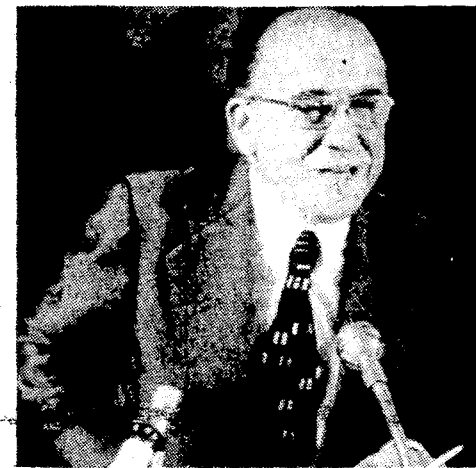
At the same time they noted the new possibilities for peaceful progress toward socialism offered by the growth of modern industrial capitalism. From their own experience fighting fascism they derived a peaceful largely electoralist strategy for socialism as well as a democratic critique of the Soviet Union.

The Communists have the only structured mass party in Spain. With nearly 200,000 members, they are the only party capable of mobilizing masses of people in all regions of the country: their rallies have been far larger than those of any other party; they should probably do better than the opinion polls indicate. Having prepared for years the national strike that would bring down the fascist regime in one blow, they have been forced to accept a long, slow rupture with fascism that may take several years. They enter the campaign with a program calling for a constituent assembly to write a democratic constitution and for a program of economic renovation to solve the grave economic crisis in the country.

Spanish compromise.

This economic crisis, aggravated by the wild and uneven industrialization of the '60s, is even more acute than that in Italy. The capitalist world crisis of 1975 brought an end to economic growth, a decline in tourism and the loss of income from the four million Spanish workers abroad. As these workers returned home, unemployment soared to seven percent. Industrial growth approached zero. The inflation rate, currently 30 percent, is the highest in Europe. The trade deficit, nearly \$9 billion, will probably continue to rise so long as Spanish agriculture remains undeveloped and Spanish industry dependent upon the technology of the multinationals.

The flight of money abroad and the plethora of non-productive speculative investment bodes ill for Spanish industry, which can no longer boast of paying the lowest wages in the world. The external



Communist party head Santiago Carrillo

debt of \$12 billion can only be re-financed with the good will and complaisance of American banks.

Because of the gravity of the crisis and the danger of a fascist backlash, the Spanish Communists are prepared to effect their own version of the Italian historical compromise. They are ready to cooperate with liberal elements of the oligarchy to democratize political and social life and to renovate Spanish industry and agriculture without sacrificing the material standards of the working class.

Their program calls for a hike in minimum wages and the indexation of all wages to a cost-of-living escalator, a substantial improvement in social security benefits for health and retirement and measures of worker control in industry.

Such measures of social justice are designed to stimulate domestic production and the utilization of wasted industrial plant and equipment. While not proposing any immediate nationalizations, the Communists are advocating an agrarian reform law that would allow the transfer of under-utilized land from large landowners to working peasants.

The increased social expenditures for health, schools and housing would be made up by measures of fiscal reform to end the virtual tax immunity of the upper classes and large enterprises. To prevent the outflow of speculative capital and an inflationary spiral, the Communists call for democratic control of the highly centralized Spanish banks and a democratic economic plan that would orient investment toward the technological upgrading of domestic industry.

In return for these concessions from the ruling elite, the Communists hope to be in a position to promise some measure of social peace to a managerial class that has been plagued by strikes and social unrest under the Franco regime. The Suarez government would obviously prefer to impose a wage freeze and austerity on the working class and mortgage the Spanish economy to American banks and multinationals.

Bernard Moss lives in Paris and writes regularly about European politics for In These Times. He is author of the recently published Origins of the French Labor Movement.

PAKISTAN

Democracy loses: Bhutto, opposition near settlement

By Iftikhar Ahmad

After three months of violence, an estimated 300 deaths, innumerable injuries and immeasurable loss to the economy, Pakistan's prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the opposition Pakistan National Alliance seem to be moving toward a negotiated settlement of Pakistan's most recent political crisis. Last week, as talks opened between the two sides, Bhutto agreed to release the remaining jailed opposition leaders, desist from anti-PNA propaganda on state-owned radio and television and end martial law. In return, PNA leaders agreed to suspend demonstrations and rallies against the government.

But a settlement, if reached, will not touch the roots of Pakistan's continuing political crisis: the tension between the popular demand for democracy and the forces favoring authoritarian rule. If anything, the settlement will serve to prevent the further development of a genuinely democratic "third force" in Pakistan.

Allegations and abuse.

Bhutto assumed power in 1971 after the Bangla Desh war with a popular mandate to institute democracy and meaningful socio-economic reforms. Instead, he forced elected state governments out of office, jailed thousands of his opponents without trial (Amnesty International estimates 32,000), turned the Pakistan People's party into a patronage machine, made the bureaucracy into an instrument of personal power and greatly enlarged the police and military. While undertaking limited nationalization of industry and land reform, the regime did little to alleviate poverty.

In a gesture reminiscent of Indira Gandhi, Bhutto called for elections this March while many of his opponents lingered in prisons.

Turkey held national elections on June 5. The victors, the Republican People's party (RPP) headed by Bulent Ecevit (pronounced edge-eh-VIT), ousted the Justice party that had ruled through an uneasy coalition for the last two years. The RPP victory may take Turkey to the left and away from the U.S.

Ecevit describes the RPP as part of the "democratic left," but claims that it is non-marxist and anti-communist. The party draws its traditional support from the civil service, the military, and intellectuals, and has recently added to its constituency members of Turkey's burgeoning industrial working class and disaffected peasants seeking land reform.

In the last election the RPP placed 185 members in Parliament. This election marks the increasing national prominence of the RPP and the increasing division of the electorate by the two major parties—the RPP and its major opponent, the Justice party—at the expense of the independents. In 1975 independents accounted for 116 seats; this election they accounted for eight.

The conservative Justice party first came to power in 1950 on the votes of the peasantry and the urban bourgeoisie. Outgoing prime minister Suleyman Demirel, suffered in the recent election from his reputation as a favorite of big business and the Americans.

Unofficial results gave the RPP 213 seats in the 450-member parliament, 13 shy of a majority. The Justice party took 189 seats, the National Salvation party 24, the National Action party 16, and the remaining eight seats went to two conservative splinter parties and four independents.

The RPP will initially seek a coalition with the independents and defecting members from the other parties. A coal-

Most observers agree that without rigging the elections, Bhutto might still have won a majority. The opposition PNA, which ranged from moderates to right-wing religious fundamentalists, had little to offer during the election except allegations and abuse.

But Bhutto, by his own admission, chose to rig the March 7 parliamentary elections. The PNA, which won only 36 of 200 seats, renounced its parliamentary seats in protest, boycotted the subsequent elections to four provincial assemblies, and launched a popular civil disobedience movement demanding Bhutto's resignation and new elections under army supervision. Belatedly, it announced a jumbled program promising the return to private ownership of nationalized industries and the institution of an Islamic code on the model of Saudi Arabia.

A "Third Force."

But both Bhutto and the PNA were finally driven to the conference table by the emergence of a "third force" during the crisis. It consists of liberal and leftwing breakaways from Bhutto's PPP, middle class professionals who has supported Bhutto but now fear his will to power, and leftist labor unions and student organizations.

Martial Law was imposed when the Pakistan Labor Alliance in Karachi and a broad based labor/student/peasant alliance in Lahore were threatening to take over the popular movement. This third force was also threatening to attract moderate and liberal elements from the PNA.

The opposition, which had spurned Bhutto's numerous offers of compromise and conciliation, became willing to "push the matter fast" according to the Pir of Pagero, the acting leader of the PNA. The Pir said that even the demand for Bhutto's

resignation was "debatable as far as we are concerned."

A settlement may take several forms. Bhutto may remain in office, possibly leading a care-taker government that would oversee new parliamentary elections. Such an election may be circumscribed in order to preempt the emergence of a coalition to the left of the present formations. Bhutto's offer of referendum is designed for the same purpose and is not likely to end the impasse. If Bhutto's position is further strengthened he may not go beyond his original proposal of

holding fresh provincial assembly elections and holding national elections only if the PNA wins in the provinces.

Whatever the settlement it will only enhance the role of the army and strengthen Bhutto's hand. A victorious Bhutto will likely launch a campaign of reprisals, further strengthen the federal security forces and augment the powers of the police and the intelligence services.

Iftikhar Ahmad is a graduate fellow of the Transnational Institution in Washington, D.C.

"Democratic left" wins Turkish vote



Bulent Ecevit, chairman of the Republican People's party.

tion between the two major contenders, the RPP and the JP, seems unlikely. An alliance with the ultra nationalist National Action party, responsible for much of the recent student violence that has killed 400 and injured 2,000 in the last two years, is out of the question.

The National Salvation party remains the only likely candidate if the RPP is forced to seek additional support. The NSP combines appeals to Muslim values with the endorsement of heavy industrialization, promising to build more mosques and factories. The NSP also remains adamant about Turkish claims for an independent Cypriot state.

The Carter administration views the NSP position on Cyprus as a disaster and is fearful of NSP/RPP unity on this question. Carter is presently withholding a \$1 billion arms and aid package to Turkey until concessions on Cyprus are obtained.

Ecevit is said to favor a more independent international position vis-a-vis the U.S. and the Soviet Union and is not eager to establish cordial relations with the U.S. He has said that Carter's attitude will affect Turkey's commitment to the NATO alliance, has promised that American intelligence gathering bases along the Soviet border will stay closed, and has suggested that Turkey might look elsewhere for guns and butter.

Ecevit enjoyed a brief tenure as prime minister in 1974. During his seven months in office he ordered the invasion of Cyprus (for which he is still popular), lifted the ban on opium poppy cultivation (which earned him little favor with the U.S.), and proclaimed amnesty for all political prisoners. In his spare time Ecevit writes some poetry and has translated into Turkish T.S. Eliot, Dylan Thomas, and the Bengali mystic Rabindranath Tagore.

—Robert Schaeffer

A "religion of revolution"

Christians fight tyranny in the 3rd world

By Frank Maurovich
Pacific News Service

Throughout much of the Third World right-wing regimes are being confronted by a new kind of opposition that many consider a greater threat than Marxist insurgency or rising terrorism.

That threat is Christian resistance, rising from both Catholic and Protestant churches.

Thomas Quigley, Latin American expert of the U.S. Catholic Bishops Conference, attributes the escalating resistance to three causes:

- the widening gap between rich and poor despite the growing wealth of third world countries like Brazil and South Korea.

- the rising abuse of human rights—including torture and assassination of political leaders—that, says Quigley, have "opened the door for perfectly natural involvement of Christians in revolutionary politics";

- a developing "theology of liberation" calling on Christians to become politically active in resisting oppression and building a "more just and fraternal society."

Revolutionary politics.

The theology of liberation was first developed in Latin America in the 1960s by a group of Christian activist/thinkers who claimed the Third World needed "liberation," not development.

While comprising a relatively small, closely-knit group of churchmen, these "liberation theologians" have given the broad resistance movement its unifying vision and global reach.

They insist that while parallel Christian resistance movements have developed in Africa and Asia, the Christians of each region must determine their political actions in the context of their own needs.

In the young black nations of Africa, for example, Bishop Patrick Kaliombe of Malawi says that political cooperation with the government, not resistance, is the answer. "We have much more to fight for than against," he says.

In Latin America, the theologians of liberation have rejected the development model of economic and technical aid from industrialized nations as ineffective and counterproductive.

"The supporters of development reinforced the status quo and actually widened the gap between the poor by not attacking the roots of the evil," wrote Gustavo Gutierrez in his book *Theology of Liberation*, which has been published in six languages.

The evil—social, political, economic and cultural suppression—can only be uprooted by "social revolution," according to the movement leaders.

Bible as manifesto.

This social revolution, the theologians of liberation teach, can be accomplished peacefully if the possessors of wealth and power cooperate voluntarily—or violently if they do not.

Says Kim Chi Ha, the Catholic poet writer who is a leader of South Korea's Christian resistance. "I believe in non-violence, but I also approve the violence of love and regulated violence." He defines these forms of violence as those directed solely at eradication of suffering and freedom from repression.

Such teaching naturally provokes vehement reaction from right-wing regimes,

which claim the Christian dissidents are either disguised Marxists or dupes of Marxism.

Gutierrez admits that "contemporary theology does in fact find itself in direct

and fruitful dialogue with Marxism." But he emphatically insists that Christian resistance is rooted in the Bible, not in *Das Kapital*.

Gutierrez and other liberation theologians underline the significance of Christ's own manifesto delivered in the synagogue at Nazareth, his first public pronouncement. According to Luke's gospel: "The Spirit of the Lord has appointed me to proclaim good news to the poor. He

has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed."

"God is not neutral," Gutierrez says. "He entered human history through Jesus Christ in solidarity with the poor."

Frank Maurovich, former editor of *Latinamerica Press* in Lima, Peru, is now an editor of *Pacific News*.

Catholic poet Kim Chi Ha a voice from a South Korean jail



By Charles D. Lummis
Pacific News Service

SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA—The conversation invariably turned toward Catholic poet Kim Chi Ha. It was striking how many people would express their inmost thoughts to me by saying, "What Kim Chi Ha is trying to say is..."

The conversations took place last December during the trial of Kim Chi Ha and other Christian dissidents who are part of a loosely knit but effective Christian resistance movement here.

The trial is over. Kim is in jail. But the impact of the event is still reverberating.

Charged as a "Marxist revolutionary," Kim denied only half the charge—that he is a Marxist. He then went on to use the courtroom to define what he perceived to be the core of Christian faith: solidarity with the oppressed and a call to action to build a world of justice and peace.

"Christianity," Kim told the judges. "is a religion of revolution whereby those in high places are brought down and chased out, and the destitute and oppressed are admitted in, satisfied and liberated."

Ironically, the trial, which was designed to isolate and silence an accused Marxist, became a public forum—much like the historic trial in Pilate's Jerusalem courtroom—that produced a stream of thinking and discussion in South Korea's Christian community. Representing about one-sixth of the country's 35 million population, the Protestant and Catholic churches here form the most active opposition bloc to the Park regime, despite some bitter internal dissent.

Illegal thought.

Kim was not on trial for anything he did. His private notebooks—including outlines for still unwritten plays and poems—were the key evidence used against him. Through them the prosecutors tried to show that he had violated the law by illegal thoughts, not actions.

At one of the hearings Kim's defense attorney asked him, "What is the Christian position on the bourgeoisie?" The poet answered in Christ's words, "It is as difficult for the rich to enter heaven as it is for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle."

Ham Sok Hon, the 75-year-old Quaker who is called by some the "conscience of Korea," explained later that Kim's position means that the Christian must take the side of the poor, the oppressed, the wretched of the earth.

Kim testified, "The government found the word 'lumpen-proletariat' in my prison notes, and they believe this is communist terminology... Don't they know that Jesus was born in a stable? Don't they know that Jesus chose Galilean fishermen to be the pillars of his church? Don't they know that Mary Magdalene was a whore?"

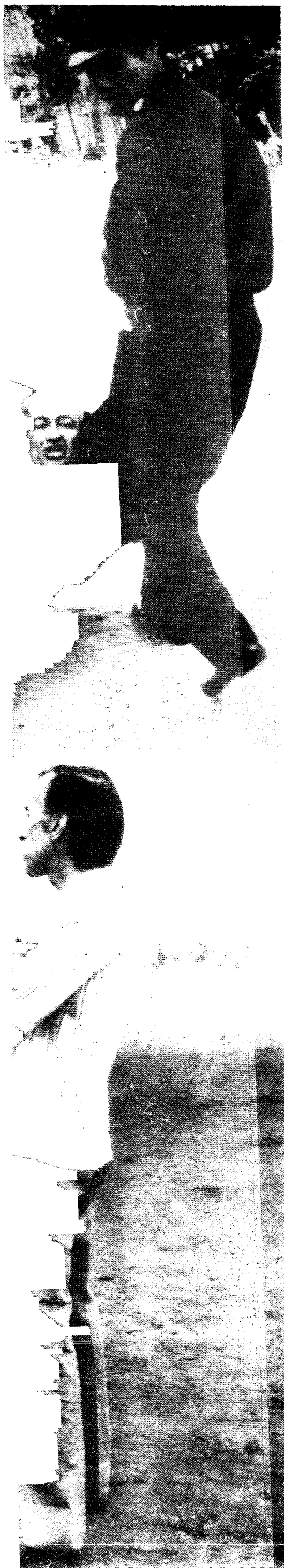
In effect, Kim's answer to the charge of Marxism is, "I had no need of that hypothesis. The moral teaching for an unrelenting struggle against oppression can be found within Christianity."

A national democratic revolution.

Kim's own struggle has been unrelenting. The 36-year-old poet has been arrested five times since 1964. The first time was



(Above) In South Korea, Maryknoll missionary prayer service for political prisoners in April (Below) Bishop Casaldaliga of Sao Felix, Brazil, of the Mato Grosso.



her James Sinnott being carried away from
own on the right, works closely with the poor

for participating as a student in the protest against the Japan/South Korea normalization treaty opening the door for heavy Japanese investments in the Korean economy.

The second and third times were for his writings, *The Five Bandits* (1970) and *Groundless Rumors* (1974). In 1974 he was arrested on charges of plotting with students to "overthrow the government" and given a death sentence, later commuted to life imprisonment.

In February 1975 he was released on a kind of amnesty but with the life sentence dangling over his head. Twenty-seven days later he was back in prison, this time for publishing *Asceticism 74*, an account of his imprisonment.

Kim's dramatic statement at his December trial left little doubt why the Park regime considers him the most articulate—and most subversive—spokesman of the country's growing Christian resistance.

Kim presented a revolutionary vision of a reunited Korea brought about neither by conquest of either side nor by negotiations between the two regimes. His national democratic revolution, as he calls it, is ultimately a revolution in both sectors. "The bright Spring of Athens is coming to call on the Republic of Korea. And when the

Spring of Athens has visited the South, it will then urge change upon the North. Whether in the form of intra-party democracy, or whether through some other form of popular awakening, in any case, the Spring of Prague will come to the North as well," Kim predicted in his dramatic final statement in court.

Kim described the day of unification in the language of a visionary: "At the DMZ the guns will cease to fire, and like monkeys, rabbits, pheasants and deer romping at play, the youth of the north and south will come together, talk, sing and dance until dawn, groping for a new philosophy and stepping into a whole new world of friendship..."

This "new philosophy," he added, will then spread throughout the Third World and to "the perfection of humanity."

In South Korea, where Marxism has been crushed and Christianity is strong and respected, Kim's vision is more revolutionary and—considering the basis—more dangerous.

Charles D. Lummis, professor of political science at Fairhaven College, Washington, observed the December trials of South Korea's Christian dissidents.

With Latin American left in jail, the Church stepped forward

By Harvey Levenstein

A young Catholic priest in a Northern Mexico slum parish is shot and killed by unknown assailants. He had helped his poor parishioners to defy the wealthy industrialists and landowners who wanted the land the 20,000 people lived on.

A priest working with Brazilian Indians is shot dead in a police station by the very policemen to whom he is protesting torture and mistreatment of Indian women.

In Argentina the machine-gunned corpse of three priests and two young seminarians who were ministering to the poor in a Buenos Aires slum are found in front of the altar of their church. On their bodies, the rightist "death squad" leaves notes warning of church infiltration by communists.

In El Salvador, a car driven by a priest helping peasants in their struggle against large landowners is riddled with large-calibre bullets. The priest is left dead on the road with ten bullets in his body. Two of his peasant parishioners are also killed. One is aged 76, the other 15.

Throughout Latin America, priests are paying dearly for a startling change of direction within the Roman Catholic church. In country after country, as leftists and liberals are being crushed by authoritarian rightist governments, the Catholic church is emerging as the major force working for social justice and human rights.

Opposition to military dictators.

In the past two years large segments of the Brazilian church have moved into open opposition to the army regime. In late February no less than 217 Brazilian bishops signed a document condemning increasing poverty, arbitrary arrests, "disappearances," imprisonments, and the "almost total impunity" with which the clandestine rightist terrorist groups act.

The churchmen's concerns cross national borders. The powerful Cardinal of Sao Paulo recently visited neighboring Paraguay, demanding, without success, to visit the 350 political prisoners in the capital city's main prison.

The Paraguayan clergy have also undergone a radical change. Many of the hundreds of men, women, and children mouldering in the country's prisons are poor peasants and slum dwellers organ-

ized into grassroots movements by Catholic activists. In effect, the Catholic church has become the main opponent of President General Alfredo Stroessner, Latin America's longest-running dictator.

In Chile, many churchmen have retreated from their initial support for the army's 1973 coup because of the massive repression and economic hardship it brought. As late as September 1975 Chilean bishops were criticizing the *junta* only mildly, while still praising it for having saved Chile from imminent communist dictatorship. By then, though, it was running soup kitchens for the hungry in the slums of the cities, trying to help those hardest hit by the regime's "soak the poor" economic policies.

Then it gingerly began criticizing the suppression of human rights, counting and announcing the number of "disappearances," and publicly distancing itself from the regime. Finally, last month it neared open opposition to the regime.

In a strongly worded pastoral letter, Chile's bishops demanded that the government "clear up the fate" of the thousands of Chileans who have disappeared, suspected to have been killed or imprisoned by the secret police. They questioned the legitimacy of recent *junta* political decisions and demanded an "open debate" on its economic policies. On May Day, when the government blocked a planned meeting of unionists, they rallied instead at Santiago Cathedral, where the Cardinal of Santiago delivered a sermon criticizing the government's neglect of the poor.

In Nicaragua, run by the Somoza family and their thugs since the 1930s, the church has finally condemned the torture and killing of peasants and opponents for which the regime has long been notorious. In this year's New Year's message, the publication of which the government prohibited, the Nicaraguan Conference of Bishops called for a restoration of freedoms, including the "freedom to promote a more just and serene social order."

Many still conservative.

It was not always like this. Although the church has always been involved in Latin American politics, it has usually sided with the old, wealthy, conservative landholding classes.

Many of the Catholic hierarchy still live to the old line. The Colombian

church is still dominated by arch-conservatives, although the "leftists" calling themselves such things as Priests for Latin America and Christians for Socialism, are coming up fast. Late last year 65 Colombian bishops tried to put down the leftist upsurge by condemning those in the church who claimed that Christianity and Marxism could be reconciled.

Guatemala's Cardinal Archbishop has told his priests not to emulate their Salvadorian neighbors. In a confidential letter, he warned them against expressing political opinions. "Our mission is to save souls," he wrote. "We have been taught by the Church to respect the authorities."

The declaration of the 217 Brazilian bishops aroused considerable unease among the conservative clergy. A prominent Brazilian prelate publicly denounced it, saying, in effect, that the church should mind its own business and stop criticizing the government.

In Argentina, the military coup that ousted Isabel Peron two years ago received overwhelming support in the church. Many clergymen still believe the regime's claims to have saved the nation "for Christianity and Western civilization" from the international Bolshevik conspiracy.

The fact that the leadership of the major Peronist guerrilla group, the Montoneros, includes many former activists in Catholic youth organizations (including its young leader, Roberto Firminich), makes it easier for the Montoneros to gain secret support from sympathetic clergymen, but it also lends credence to the charges that the church has been infiltrated by "Marxists" and terrorists. Conservative churchmen are therefore not turning against the regime simply because over 50 priests and seminarians have been kidnapped or killed by government-supported "death squads." As a whole, the Argentine church now stands in the middle, torn and effectively neutralized by its own weakness. In Uruguay, for various historic reasons, for years the church has counted on many nominal Catholics but few real followers. When it protested the suppression of the rightist army regime there, it was easily crushed. Even the Papal Nuncio was denounced as a "Marxist" in the government-controlled press.

In Cuba, the Church's historic weakness forced upon it another unusual role: quietly acquiescing to "atheistic Communism" becoming the ideology of a Catholic country. There, though, after some initial tensions, the revolutionary regime avoided confrontations, allowing the church to function as long as it stayed out of politics. With the backbone of its clergy, who were Spanish, sent home, and others joining their middle class flock in exile in Florida, the Cuban church had little alternative but to acquiesce.

Cuba still maintains diplomatic relations with the Vatican. The few native Cuban clergymen continue to minister to their small congregations. If anything, they go out of their way to indicate their support for the general objectives of the Revolution. Their main grievance is that professing Catholicism disqualifies Cubans from joining the elite Communist organizations whose membership cards are necessary for university entrance, high bureaucratic positions, and a host of other privileges.

Unlike the Colombian bishops, they would likely be overjoyed if the regime declared Marxism and Catholicism compatible. The rise of so many priests in the rest of Latin America leaning in that direction makes it a real possibility. Leftists as well as rightists are being forced to rethink many of their old ideas about the politics of the church in Latin America.

Harvey Levenstein is a professor of history at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Human rights begin at home

President Carter's main symbolic gesture, designed to substitute for programmatic achievement, has been his regular invocation of human rights. Carter has used this issue as criticism against the Russians and Cubans and has chided a few reactionary capitalist regimes, like those of Chile and South Korea, for their considerably more brutal violations of political and civil rights and liberties. But he has not reduced military aid to these regimes.

We take all this talking about human rights as a mixed blessing. The hypocritical nature of the campaign is apparent. But in making human rights an issue, Carter has inadvertently created a climate in which it is appropriate for Americans to demand of their own government what it is demanding of others. To raise the issue of human rights is to run the risk of being judged on the basis of performance on it at home.

But whatever his personal feelings or inclinations on this issue, Carter's loyalty to corporate capitalism and to its priorities makes it difficult for him to move on some human rights issues and impossible for him to make substantial changes on others.

Carter has chosen to use the term narrowly to apply only to political rights, and to societies without strong civil liberties traditions. We support the extension of such rights and consider complete political rights to be an essential part of socialist society.

But political rights are only one aspect of human rights as they have evolved in modern society. In addition to the political freedoms of which Carter speaks, human rights today must include equality of treatment in employment, education, place of residence and in any other general social activity. And they must also include the right to economic security, as well as access to the benefits and comforts that society is capable of providing.

No cause for self-congratulation.

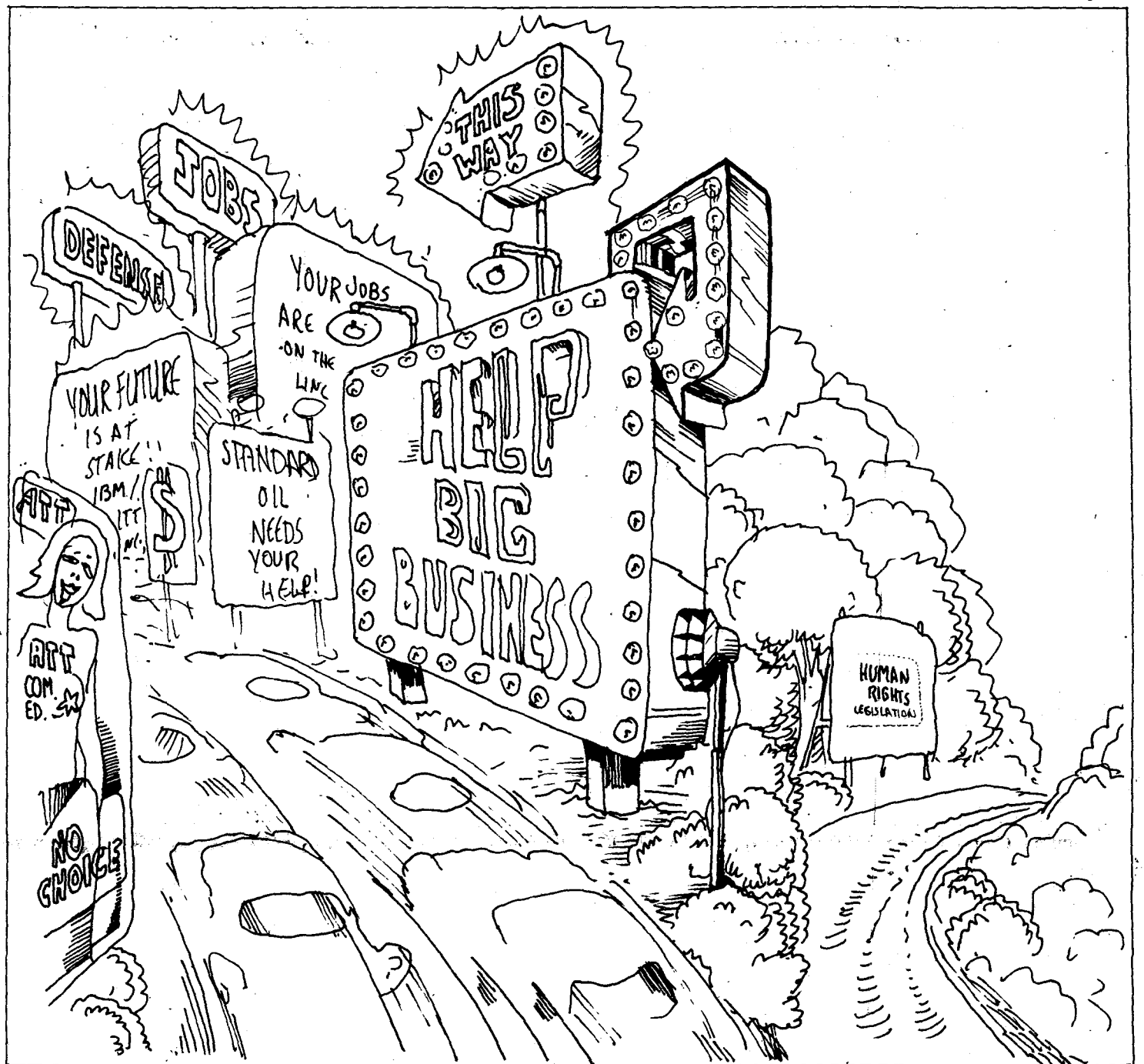
As the leaders of a capitalist power with little or no feudal legacy and one of the strongest traditions of formal political democracy, American presidents and other high politicians have long cast invidious judgments upon other societies. Americans have in fact struggled to establish a wide range of political rights. These rights are important. Socialists should recognize and appreciate their importance and strive to defend and extend them.

Since World War II, substantial gains in civil rights have been made by blacks, largely as a result of their own struggles for the extension of traditional American political liberties to themselves. Women have also won a greater legal recognition of their right to equality. Gay people too made advances early in the decade—though Miami demonstrates, the rights of gays, as of women and blacks are not by any means secured.

The status of political rights in the U.S. is no cause for smug, self-congratulation, especially in the light of the record of the last 30 years. The U.S. is, after all, the richest country in the world, one that has vastly increased its productive capacities in recent decades. Our politicians and media and academic ideologues never tire of telling American working people about the commitment of corporate capitalism to human freedom, individual liberties and free choice.

And yet, both in the area of equal treatment and of freedom from want, there has been little progress, and in some respects considerable losses since the late 1940s.

On equal treatment: the political rights of leftists, trade union activists, civil rights



Carter's talk on human rights abroad raises the issue of human rights at home... A human rights agenda for the U.S. is not possible within the limits of corporate-capitalist politics. The realization of full human rights requires a socialist America.

and womens' rights advocates and others have been increasingly violated through the growth of illegal activity by "law enforcement" agencies—the FBI and CIA on the federal level and red squads on the state and local level.

Furthermore, while the more visible attacks on equal political rights, like those of the House Committee on Un-American activities, have largely been abandoned, other agencies like grand juries that are less visible and therefore less vulnerable to popular opposition, have been given new powers and have been used with increasing frequency over the years.

Increasing inequalities.

Equal treatment also continues to be denied in fact, if not in law, in employment, education, health care and housing. While the gap in income between blacks and whites has narrowed overall, poverty among the mass of urban blacks has increased. Similarly, the gap in income between working men and women has increased in recent years. Segregation in public schools has grown in the major northern cities. Health care for the poor has steadily deteriorated, as have virtually all social services, and this has hit blacks and hispanics with disproportionate severity.

These patterns of continued and in-

creasing inequality are in large part a function of the failure of American corporate capitalism to fulfill the promise of freedom from want articulated by Franklin D. Roosevelt during World War II.

Indeed, in this crucial area of human rights, things are clearly getting worse, so much so that in place of the promise of freedom from want, which the optimism rooted in an expanding political economy could produce 30 years ago, we are now told that the good old days of increasing consumption are on the way out and austerity is in.

As President Carter and others both in the Democratic and Republican parties now implicitly admit, the human right to share in the benefits of increasing efficiency of production and the growth of productive capacity are things of the past. Instead we are asked to subordinate this right to the need of the giant corporations to operate at profit levels inconsistent with an equalitarian distribution of income and opportunities.

This can be seen in every one of Carter's announced programs. In energy, for example, Carter proposes higher prices for natural gas and oil and higher taxes, while his program ignores the development of publicly owned and operated mass transit, the only real way to conserve energy in transportation and the only way to lower

costs to the mass of working people.

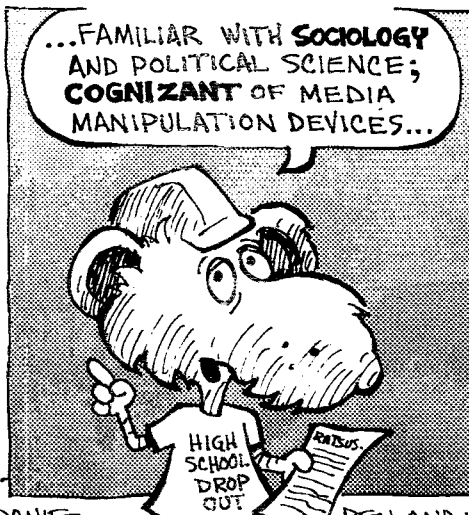
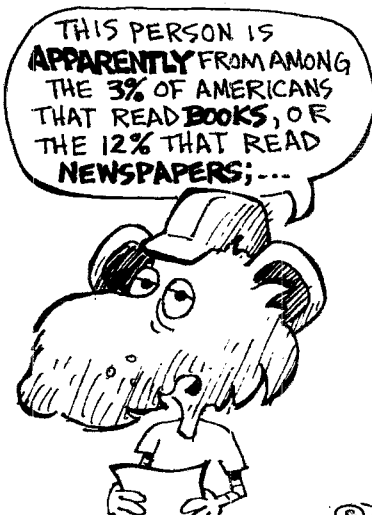
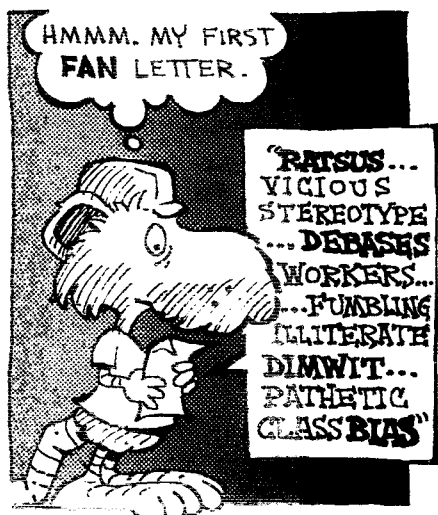
Human rights vs. corporate power.

To get elected, Carter felt it necessary to recognize employment as an essential human right and to promise that he would quickly and substantially reduce the level of unemployment—now officially at about 7 percent, but in reality at least twice that high, ranging up to 30-40 percent among youth in the major central city areas. The urgency with which Carter addresses unemployment is a far cry from his promises seven short months ago.

A human rights agenda for the U.S. today requires substantive, as opposed to merely formal, equality, as well as freedom from want, which means full employment, adequate schools, universal health care and medical services, comfortable housing, and economic security as the priorities of our government.

Such an agenda is not possible within the framework of corporate capitalist politics. It is possible only within the framework of a socialist politics that is not beholden to the needs of corporate capital for increased profits. In short, the continued expansion of human rights in the U.S. today requires that we move toward a socialist reorganization of our society.

THE FACTORY WITH RATSUS



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Letters

Fay Dunaway returns: or sin and atonement

Editor:

I keep trying to subscribe to *ITT* but am continuously forced to pull my check and subscription blank back out of the envelope. The first time was after the horrendous insensitivity displayed by the exploitation Dunaway cover. To atone for that sin you published two excellent articles on the NOW convention and the emerging feminist music movement. If only your editorial policy didn't continue to treat women as a minority subject.

Alas, after raising my hopes for your seriousness about women and feminism, you put Gloria Steinem's chic picture on top of your subscription blank to remind me that yes, even an "independent socialist journal" will use "glamorous" women to sell issues for them. Poor ol' Gloria has been exploited for her looks so often by the establishment media. We're all getting a little tired of her in that role. Does *ITT* really need her to sell subscriptions for them? How about a picture of a women's collective as an original alternative to the "sell the product with a beautiful body" syndrome. Maybe a plug from the Berkeley Women's Music Collective or from the Socialist Feminist Task Force of NAM or the editorial collective of *Women: A Journal for Liberation*? After all, the strength of the women's movement has been its collective ability to touch the consciousness of American women, not the salesmanship of its media created "superstars."

—Sarah Begus
Baltimore, Md.

Is the sky falling?

Editor:

It was with considerable interest that I read David Mermelstein's economic analysis in the June 1 issue. Since an understanding of economic trends is quite necessary for developing long-term political strategy, such economic analysis must be thorough. Mermelstein ends up by projecting the serious possibility of a 1930s-type depression as a result of financial liquidity problems. However, beyond description, his presentation is almost pure conjecture.

Marxist economists, such as those from *Monthly Review* and *The Review of Radical Political Economy*, who present similar crisis theories have not even begun substantially to demonstrate that the depth of current financial dislocations is serious enough to override conventional state and corporate economic management. Keynesian policy may not be able to "fine tune" the economy, but it is more than capable of keeping the engine running.

Before yelling that the sky is falling,

Mermelstein and others have the obligation of demonstrating—not asserting—both the nature and depth of the significant movements in the economic atmosphere.

—Chicken Little
Johnson City, N.Y.

Up political films

Editor:

I've been reading *ITT* for several months, and becoming more and more disgusted with your film coverage. For a paper that wants to help build a socialist movement in this country, you are stupendously ignorant of the possibilities of film.

We need more from you than reviews of mass audience (corporation-produced) films. After all, we *do* have political films that are being made not merely for entertainment but for use: for organizing and educating. But you'd barely know it, reading *ITT*.

We need to let organizers know what resources are available to advance their work; we need to build the distribution of usable films so they can reach a mass audience; and we need to support the filmmakers who are struggling with minimal funds to make good political films.

If you fail to participate in that process, you are neglecting a major responsibility.

—Marc N. Weiss
New York City

The Real South

Editor:

It is good to see (at last) a left recognition of American regionalism, and while most of Carson's positions (*ITT*, May 3) correctly reflect the problems in the South, two or three comments need to be made:

1) The painstakingly slow growth of unions in the South reflects a historical Southern tendency that in its simplest form has been anti-foreign, anti-yankee, anti-trade union, and anti-socialist/communist. Knowledge of southern history would reflect this tendency from the earliest philosophic and political foundations of the slavocratic Confederacy to present right-to-work legislation.

2) One must tread lightly when using terms like "sunbelt" and "southern rim" to support an analysis that includes the South. The South was first a politically and philosophically aligned group of states; then a distinct national entity; then a defeated regional colony ruled by the Yankee military; then an economic colony exploited by a class of yankee carpet baggers under the economic and political control of the northern capitalist federal government. It remained a colony for nearly 100 years until the expansion period in the mid-1960s. Simply to include the South in the broader "southern rim/sunbelt" is to repeat a gross historical distortion.

3) A total historical class and national analysis of the South is needed. Unfortunately, the preponderance of Marxist work (Herbert Aptheker, Phil Foner, Eugene D. Genovese) has dealt either with the "Afro-American" southern

experience or with that of slave and slavemaster. Only Genovese has touched upon and called for a national and class history (see: *Roll, Jordan, Roll* and *In Red and Black: Marxian Explorations in Southern and Afro-American History*.) Such a history would be a comprehensive national, class, racial and sexual caste history of the South through its three-step developmental stages: colonial-statehood, confederacy, and Yankee colony to mid-1960s.

—M. McCarthy
Chattanooga, Tenn.

DIALOG

Impending new era

We stand on the threshold of a new era in American socialist history. The economic and political changes that have begun to generate new social movements create as well the basis for a reborn American socialism. Indeed, in the next year or two the emergence of a pluralist, multi-tendency socialist organization that begins to function as a significant political force is a possibility. The development of a large-scale socialist movement requires a concrete realization of the new ground for unity now existing between distinct traditions of democratic socialism; step-by-step progress among different organizations and traditions toward programmatic alliance; and finally, the kind of democratic dialog, good will and ability to discard old shibboleths.

The reality facing reformers and radicals in the 1970s is direct and crude: in the age of limits, the corporate economic agenda calls for redistribution of the wealth upward. And American corporate political strategy seeks to strangle the forms of popular participation in decision making which now exist. As *Business Week* put it not long ago, the nation is in "a new phase in a conflict as old as the American republic: the conflict between a political democracy and a capitalist economy." In such an environment, oppositional forces have begun to emerge in many arenas, from neighborhood organizing and citizen action to labor unions and alternative political campaigns. All have as their central theme the struggle to democratize American economic and political institutions. And the mass "democratic movement" now gathering forms an environment favorable to a large scale socialist politics for the first time in over a generation.

Furthermore, while the contest for the reemergence of American socialism now exists, new signs of socialist organization and discussion have begun to appear. Publications ranging from *IN THESE TIMES* to *Harper's* have recently provided a forum for nonsectarian, democratic socialist arguments on a scale not seen in decades. Organizations like the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the New American Movement and the Socialist party and socialist networks in religious, community and other contexts have experienced

growth. A number of prominent reformers, from Ron Dellums and Gloria Steinem to Barry Commoner and William Winpisinger have recently described themselves as democratic socialists.

To realize the promise of such developments requires a look at the way in which the changing national and international setting has dramatically lessened the differences that once tore apart American socialism:

- Historically the question of international identification proved most bitterly divisive to the left—splitting our movement along lines of loyalty to the "Western world," the Third World, and the Soviet Union. Significant differences will remain on international questions within any pluralist American movement. Yet the changes of the last decade, from detente to the exercise of raw American military might abroad, create wide-ranging areas for programmatic alliance on the practical questions facing the left: opposition to American foreign intervention, militarism, imperial economic relations, CIA actions.

- The fight for the rights of blacks and other minorities and the struggle for women's equality similarly fractured the socialist movement repeatedly. The fight for equality is far from completed within the socialist movement itself. Yet the insurgencies of the '60s have permanently altered American socialism and made all sections of the movement far more responsive to the demands of women and minorities—a reality recently reflected in the fact that men and women like Dellums, Steinem and Julian Bond have joined the DSOC.

- Domestic disagreements on strategic questions—about labor unions, the Democratic party, reform struggles in general—historically paralleled the divisions in other areas. To some degree any mass movement that includes labor leaders and rank and file, organizers and politicians will inevitably continue to have many tendencies and points of view. Yet the potential for unity on many strategic questions has grown in the last several years, as the corporate crusade against progress creates the overarching imperative to build broad opposition forces in many areas that hold the potential to win.

Thus, the foundations for a multi-tendency socialist movement appear more and more clearly. A series of discussions, conferences and projects would furnish practical ways to begin building ties and momentum. And finally, the democratic aspiration at the heart of authentic socialism forms a unifying force far more powerful than the divisions of the past, in the age of American capitalism's decline. Indeed, only a movement for authentic democracy that provides ordinary people with new instruments of power over their collective destinies can offer hope for an alternative to eventual tyranny. And ultimately, such a movement cannot succeed unless it is guided by a resurgent American socialism, one that draws on the rich and diverse moments of American history and links them to the worldwide struggle for a human future.

—Harry Boyte
Minneapolis, Minn.

Schrade's UAW report missed significant leftward trends

The article by Paul Schrade on the UAW convention (ITT, June 1) really should have been labeled "opinion." As such I can understand its being in the paper.

As a report on the UAW Convention it was inadequate.

The headline was horrible... "The UAW Ducks the Issues." What issues? The collective bargaining contractual demands? These issues are discussed and demands drawn up for the negotiations in advance of the termination of the contract. The delegates elected by their members are reconvened for that purpose. Just as they will be reconvened after an exhaustive discussion of whether

No changes?

Other points: The quote of Bob Weissman of Local 22 that "now, 40 years later, the auto industry is still noted for its high wages and horrible working conditions" is the standard hack attack on the UAW. I can't speak first hand about the auto plants, but I do know about agricultural implement plants and many parts supplier shops, and I disagree vehemently with Weissman's charge that conditions have not changed in 40 years. As to auto, I spent time with the Safety and Health Local Union rep. of the Chevie Parma, Ohio, plant in Sweden last year. His stories of what they were doing showed one hell of a change. I have talked with the international representative and the local union president of the huge Ford stamping plant in Chicago Heights, and I have read their local agreement. This document is one of the best, and most comprehensive protective contracts on health, safety and anti-noise pollution I have ever seen. I have read the Local 45 Cleveland Fisher Body local union agreement, and here, too, management prerogatives and working conditions have

DIALOG

The economic crisis will put the UAW on the front line.... It is our duty to build a socialist consciousness pointing to broad social change...

or not the UAW should return to the AFL-CIO.

The resolutions of substance on domestic and international affairs were passed over, Schrade said. These resolutions—on full employment and national planning, rededication in the fight for full equality for all minorities, the \$600,000 gift to the Martin Luther King Center for Change, the call for meaningful disarmament, and no return to the cold war, negotiated settlement in the Middle East, against oppression and racism in South Africa and Rhodesia—are all good, immediate demands, and all passed.

I was disappointed at the lack of discussion on the full employment through national planning resolution. Irving Bluestone, UAW vice president, who was in the chair, patiently waited for a hand to be raised asking for the floor. Sam Myers, president of Local 259 saw what was happening and opened the discussion. He wanted to be among the last, but could not see so important a resolution just being formally adopted. The lack of discussion from the floor was a shortcoming. In previous conventions delegates would have talked more on the issues. I asked delegates why they did not go for the mike. Their answer was.... "I've never talked on a floor mike" or "who can argue with what the resolution says but a few who just like their names in the record." These local leaders speak often and at great length at their own local meetings, but are reluctant to speak at a national convention of 3,000 delegates.

Doug Fraser, the new UAW president, spoke about problems that face the union; Fraser clearly considers the development of a committed socially conscious new leadership as his major responsibility. When Fraser's term ends, all of the old-time leaders of the UAW will be gone. If a Reutherite tradition is to continue there has to be a real educational program. For Paul Schrade not to recognize that there will be a different in Fraser's term is surprising. Schrade sat on the UAW Executive Board and knows his depth of conviction.

been altered.

I don't know the circumstances at Weissman's Local 22 Chrysler plant, but if, as president, he has not changed working conditions in his plant while in office, his leadership is at fault.

On this I can speak from personal experience. When the Melrose Park, Ill., International Harvester plant management tried to speed-up at Local 6 through retiming jobs when they changed a part number, we took them on. In a long strike (77 days) we received the solid support of the skilled trades and non-production workers. We won. This was back in '52 and we haven't had a serious challenge on standards since then.

I am not saying that conditions are rosy in auto. All factory work is monotonous and boring. Rationalization of production makes work very hard. But to say that nothing has changed in 40 years is pure nonsense.

GMC and Ford auto assembly plants have the most intensive rationalization, but no two plants are identical. Militancy of local unions determine the line speed and quotas on individual machine production.

In the past few years health and safety issues have come to the fore in the autoworkers union. Here, again, one could fault the UAW Social Security Department for not being vigilant enough or adequately staffed (one certainly could not say that the UAW hygienists are not on the ball and militant in their concerns for the health and safety of the autoworkers), but changes are being made. There are some wonderful local union leaders who understand the dangers of hazardous materials, carcinogenic substances, decibel level dangers, pollutants, etc. Forty years and no change? Bullshit.

This type of wild charge has made the United National Caucus ineffective and irrelevant—as irrelevant as the sectarians who marched outside the convention hall shouting, as in Alice in Wonderland, "Oust the Bureaucrats."

Social presence.

It is our duty to build a socialist consci-

ousness within the UAW. They have it in Canada. There are issues that can bring consciousness to the 3,000 delegates who came from the shops. In the UAW there are no staff reps seated as delegates as in Steelworkers and other unions. The delegates are local union leaders. To make them look as if they were just zeroes is wrong.

Schrade did not report on an event of great significance that occurred at the convention. The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee held a meeting where there was an excellent turnout on the morning after the convention election celebrations. As vice chair of DSOC, I opened the meeting and told what DSOC was, and why a socialist presence in the U.S. was an absolute necessity for social change. I then introduced the newly elected vice president Martin Gerber, who in turn introduced two International Executive Board members and the president of the Ontario Federation of Labor. The latter spoke about what the New Democratic party meant to the UAW members in Canada. Gerber then introduced Michael Harrington, who gave a hard-hitting speech on the need for a left push on Jimmy Carter. Harrington pointed out the need for a movement for full employment, for Carter to live up to his campaign speeches, for social priorities over corporate priorities. The speech was very well received. All day those present complimented DSOC and Harrington.

I am optimistic about the prospect of the UAW. I believe the economic crisis will put the UAW right on the front line in the fight for necessary immediate demands. Committed socialists must see that the union does not end with just immediate demands but goes further to basic structural changes and a change of the system.

This letter will enrage sectarians who live in a world of their own, a world where every settlement is a sell out, and only they have a finished program. The trouble is that it was finished years ago. A new approach that involves good union officers and members making a real fight is needed now. IN THESE TIMES can play an important role in this task.

—Carl Shier

UAW International Representative

Wolfe's 'Trader-Prussian' image distorts record of history

Alan Wolfe needs to do his homework in American history before he writes more columns like that of May 25. He argues that "Viewing the world as an integrated capitalist system is something new for foreign policy intellectuals." He is wrong. The interest of the "trader" in global capitalism dates back to the turn of the century and is central in all American overseas adventures since the Spanish-American war. The problem of surplus capital, which became clear with the 1890s depression, led American political and business leaders to seek the international expansion of the business system in order to secure social stability and profitable levels of investment. They saw the "open door"—wider and freer world markets—as the way to provide outlets for excess production capacity as well as a means to prevent ordinary business competition between the industrial nations from developing into commercial or general war.

Men like Paul Nitze and Paul Warnke who are heirs to this corporate internationalist outlook may differ over means (e.g., the nuclear capacity needed to maintain the security of world capitalism and in their assessment of the degree to which the Soviet Union represents a threat to global stability) but not on their basic objectives. There have been similar differences within the corporate ruling class before (debates over the League of Nations, the Vietnam war, etc.) but no "responsible" politician or policy-

oriented intellectual has questioned the necessity of the globalization of American corporate capital.

A close examination of Paul Nitze's career since the 1940s indicates that he has been an archtypical corporate internationalist. His initial concern as a policy planner during the Truman administration (as deputy director of the Office of International Trade) was with developing plans to organize world trade on multilateral lines. He played an important role in alerting his chiefs in the State Department to the danger of a collapse of the Western European economies in early 1947 and took part in the framing of the Marshall Plan. Nitze, like his superiors Dean Acheson and William L. Clayton, was preoccupied (in Wolfe's words) with "preserving the strength of all the major trading partners" of the U.S. in the interest of world capitalist stability. Hardly the concern of a "Prussian," but very close to our present-day "trilateralists."

Nitze's views in 1947 were nothing new; they had been a basic feature of American diplomacy since the 1890s. American rulers recognized then that American capitalism could not flourish except in a world market inhabited by other relatively strong industrial capitalist nations. Though such nations have functioned as commercial-industrial rivals, they have also served as major export investment outlets for American industrialists, and through their own overseas investments, have injected 'effective demand' into the world market.

Accordingly, American business and political leaders have tried to frame policies that assure substantial markets abroad but that also meet the market-investment needs of their rivals and partners (through such means as tariff-bargaining, joint-investment projects, etc.). Within this tradition, Nitze and other American leaders' concern for European recovery makes perfect sense: Without complete Western European recovery, the U.S. would find an inhospitable and narrow world market.

Paul Nitze's intense hostility towards the Soviet Union must be seen in the same light. Its origins lie in his perception that the Russian socialist sphere of influence in Eastern Europe was profoundly subversive of multinational capitalism. It offered developing nations alternative paths into modernity; it impeded Western European recovery (by temporarily closing traditional markets and raw materials supplies) and removed a large chunk of Europe from the capitalist world market. These factors, plus the impression that Soviet activity in Eastern Europe was symptomatic of an international communist threat, led Nitze and others to see the Cold War as a conflict over "who will be the builder of a new international order...to take the place of the one that was shattered in the two world wars." Nitze's model for an appropriate world order was the pre-World War I British Empire, which provided political security for global trade and investment and, through its monetary system, assured easy convertibility of currencies.

Wolfe's "Trader" vs. "Prussian" breakdown of American corporate leadership is ahistorical. If Warnke had reached maturity as a corporate leader during the '40s, he might also have become a "Cold Warrior." But the world balance of power has changed since then and so have American diplomatic needs. Fundamental policy objectives have not changed and will not so long as American capital requires overseas investment outlets—that is, so long as capitalism exists in the U.S.

The novelty of Trilateralism is its recognition of the need to accommodate emerging Third World national capital. Trilateral leaders understand that by opening their markets to Third World industry, and by helping to stabilize raw material prices, they can secure the allegiance of such capitalists. "Prussians" like Nitze and Eugene Rostow do not repudiate this strategy, but see a "hard-headed" stance toward the Soviet Union as necessary to create a framework for great power cooperation.

—William Burr Dekalb, III.

Barbara Ehrenreich

The Marketing Man in your life really cares about your non-desires

Have you ever felt that no one cares—about you? I mean really cares—about everything from your inmost feelings to the smallest details of your life. Have you ever felt that people change the subject when you talk about yourself, or that they sit there planning what they can say about *themselves*? Have you longed for someone who would take a deep and abiding interest in *you*—with all your quirks and habits and secret fantasies?

Well, there is someone who cares. You would not recognize him; you will probably never meet him. He is a Market Research man.

Let me give you an example. Several months ago I switched cigarette brands from Vantage to Merit. I don't know why I did it. Maybe there were Merits around to bum at some critical moment. Maybe I was embarrassed that I kept slipping and asking for "Vanguard" cigarettes. Anyway, I barely noticed the change—which was part of an odyssey that began in the late '50s with Camels and had worked its way southward in the tar charts to Marlboro, Winston, Newport and, briefly, True. Nor was the switch noted by even my closest friends.

So I was startled to read in the *New York Times* business section that the tobacco industry is now spending so much money on market research that, according to one industry analyst, "Every time someone changes the brand he is smoking it is probably recorded in the annals of some cigarette company."

And I thought that nobody cared! It turned out, as I read further, that my Vantage to Merit switch was by no means

an incidental, personal event. Phillip Morris' Merit and Reynolds' Vantage first crossed filters in 1976 and have been locked in mortal combat ever since. At this point Merit has a commanding lead with an 111.7 percent annual growth rate, compared to Vantage's feeble 14.1 percent. So now I understood, from the perspective of market research, that in switching I had unconsciously joined a *mass movement*. Without knowing it, I was part of tobacco industry history. And most amazing of all, the tobacco industry knew about *me*—one tiny digit in that 111.7 percent growth rate—and perhaps was even now investigating the subconscious reasons for my switch—that deep-down ambivalence towards Vanguards... or Vantages.

There are those who would say that the market research man's function is non-productive, parasitical, voyeuristic—one more decadent excrescence on the rotting trunk of late monopoly capitalism, or something like that. But this is grossly to underestimate his true role. I see it like this: On the one hand we have the collective American id, seething with unresolved Oedipal strivings, primal fears, libidinal energy, narcissism—love, hate, hope, desire, etc. On the other hand we have all the things—the products that American business has made for us to buy—from Merits to Honeycombs, Stay-free, Dippity Doo, Thrill, etc. Now the job of the market research man is no less than to connect up the id with the things. In B-school language, every emotion in the id, no matter how repressed

or inchoate, has a sort of "product module": a primal fear of rejection can match up with Lavis. Sadistic impulses plug neatly into Brut. A craving for nurturance matches up with Caress. And so on.

If these two things—the collective id and the ensemble of existing commodities—should become disconnected, if the urges should unplug from their product modules—then the economy will collapse. It's as simple as that. The job of the market research man is to see that this doesn't happen: to maintain the "fit" no matter what it takes—new products, or new urges.

But to get back to cigarettes... The market researchers recently averted a near-crisis in the tobacco industry. As we know, the industry spends tens of millions of dollars a year to discover what we, the smokers and potential smokers, *really want* from a cigarette. And I don't mean the things we think we want, like flavor and that deep bronchial satisfaction only true inhalers know, but the things we don't even know we want ourselves. After four years of research, they discovered that what we want is not (surprise!) sex appeal, self-confidence, nurturance, adventure, prestige or even a chance to ride around on horseback in a yellow slicker. What we want, deep down, is *not to smoke*. The market researchers put it to their bosses more tactfully of course. They said that we wanted a "natural," "healthy" cigarette—which is like asking for a "natural" silicone implant, or a shot of herbal whiskey, or a refreshing form of cancer.

You can see the problem here. The desire *not to smoke* cannot be met with a cigarette or, most likely, with any conceivable product, because it is a desire *not to need* some part, however small, of the commodity ensemble. But were the market research men baffled by this curious anti-need, this furtive stirring of rebellion? No! Not on your life. They set themselves to the enormous task of devising a kind of *non-cigarette* on which we can slake our need *not* to smoke.

So they are bringing us Decade, which claims to be so low in cigarette-like ingredients that it will be almost healthful to smoke. Soon Reynolds will be releasing Real, the first "natural" cigarette, which cost \$40 million to develop and promote (which is about what it takes to run a good-sized general hospital for a year). These act just like cigarettes. They can be lit, inhaled and stubbed out dramatically—and they will cause mice to die dutifully in their plastic laboratory cages. But they will not be the *cigarettes* which market research has determined we don't want; they will be the *non-cigarettes* we must want instead.

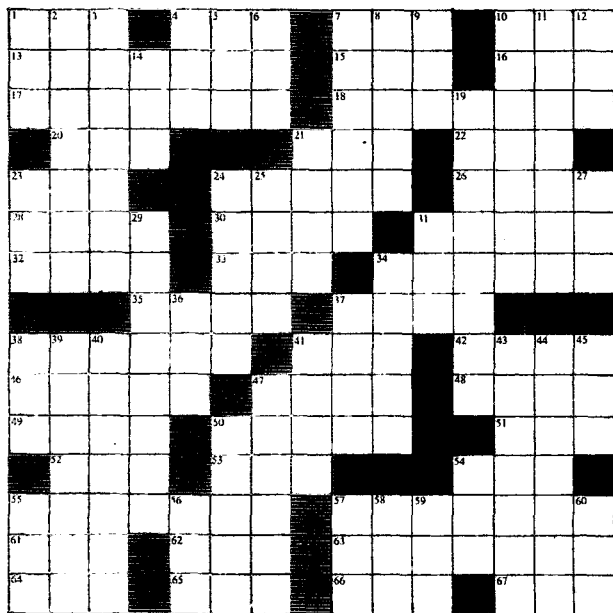
And so, as they are not so likely to say in B-school, the struggle continues! Our desires elude them, they change their tactics—try a new product—or change our desires. But I've got to go now. There's a Procter and Gamble man here at the door to discuss my shampoo orientation and creme rinse problems.

Barbara Ehrenreich is co-author of *Witches, Midwives and Nurses*. Her column appears regularly.



Julie's Justice

Composed by David Mermelstein



Across:

- 1 Blockhead
- 4 Kind of sack
- 7 Frequently (in poetry)
- 10 Way: Abbr.
- 13 Where it was held
- 15 French king
- 16 Surprised utterances
- 17 The Judge
- 18 A Defendant
- 20 Two equal a qt.
- 21 New Deal agency
- 22 Collection
- 23 Soho's expect
- 24 A Defendant
- 26 Josip Broz
- 27 Prehistoric mound
- 30 Of an epoch
- 31 Remus rabbit *et al.*
- 32 Gaelic
- 33 Deg. in soc., econ., etc.
- 34 Recurring features of capitalism
- 35 Athletic org.
- 37 Bric-a-
- 38 Money lender
- 41 2nd century Roman date

Down:

- 42 Bede or Smith
- 46 Citizen led by 26 Across
- 47 Lounge
- 48 Party or drive
- 49 Cozy
- 50 Gagged Defendant
- 51 Historic period
- 52 Prefix meaning up
- 53 Question
- 54 Small fish
- 55 Drenched quality
- 57 A Defendant and family
- 61 North of Afr.
- 62 Direction
- 63 A Defendant
- 64 _____um or _____mmetry
- 65 Nautical chain
- 66 Opposite of offs
- 67 Swine pen

7 One can either succeed

- 8 Prosecuting Attorney
- 9 Spanish uncle
- 10 A Defendant *et al.*
- 11 Stage arena
- 12 Curve
- 14 Space-distance-time abbr.
- 19 Pertaining to medicine
- 21 Establishment legal org. *et al.*
- 23 Suffix denoting origin
- 24 Stop again
- 25 Bear
- 27 Precursor of CIA
- 29 Levitated in '67?
- 31 Bathing suit part
- 34 U.S. surgeon
- 36 Light bed
- 37 Defense Lawyer, to friends
- 38 Money used to buy huitres: Abbr.
- 39 Errand runner in Odyssey
- 40 Defense Witness: _____ Joe
- 41 Wooden pin
- 43 Crowns
- 44 Show _____ (be indignant)
- 45 Moon plain
- 47 Renter
- 50 Impudent
- 54 Branch of army: Abbr.
- 55 Indiana Native American
- 56 Werner Erhard's org.
- 57 Reporter's question
- 58 Long time period
- 59 First of threesome, with ands and butts
- 60 Curved plank

Answers to last week's puzzle



From our Circulation Desk

We now have just over 7,000 subscriptions, which brings our total circulation to about 9,000 with local newsstand sales through our 50 local distributors. We also have several "mini-distributors" and a growing number of direct bookstore accounts.

As we've urged before, *IN THESE TIMES* needs your participation as readers and supporters in order to survive this crucial first year. If each of our readers would help us in just one of the following ways, we'd be in good shape.

* Become a mini-distributor (see ad below). You pay us in advance for 50 percent of the cover price of three months' worth of *IN THESE TIMES*, and then keep the rest when you sell the papers. It's a good deal for both of us.

* Join the subscription contest. So far we have 10 contestants, but we need more. Remember, even if you don't win a big prize, you can hardly miss winning a great *IN THESE TIMES* t-shirt!

* Solicit a bookstore account in your neighborhood for us. Go to a bookstore, show the manager the paper, and convince her/him to take it on a regular basis. Then send us the store's name and address and we'll take it from there. Our bookstore terms are: minimum 5 copies; 20¢ for the store; no returns; we bill monthly.

* Send in names of 10 friends who might subscribe if they saw a copy of the paper.

Speaking of our "10 friends" campaign, people have asked for a report on its status: Because of the considerable amount of work

it takes to type labels from the scrawled lists people send us, to label the papers in bulk, to staple, stamp, etc., we've only been able to send out 1,200 so far. We have at least 2,500 more names just waiting to be processed. So, Chicago readers, take note—we're asking for volunteers to come in this summer to help us catch up with this important work.

Of the mere 1,200 people we've sent sample copies of *IN THESE TIMES* to, we've gotten 65 subs. That's a return of 5.4 percent, which is not bad...especially since it costs us nothing except labor.

One final request: we want to do a campus circulation blitz in the fall—find distributors to hawk the papers, to solicit subs, to generally promote the paper on campuses, where *IN THESE TIMES* has a potentially huge readership. We have to find people to do any or all of these things. If you yourself or anyone you know could act as a contact for us on a local campus, let us know.

—Torie Osborn
Circulation

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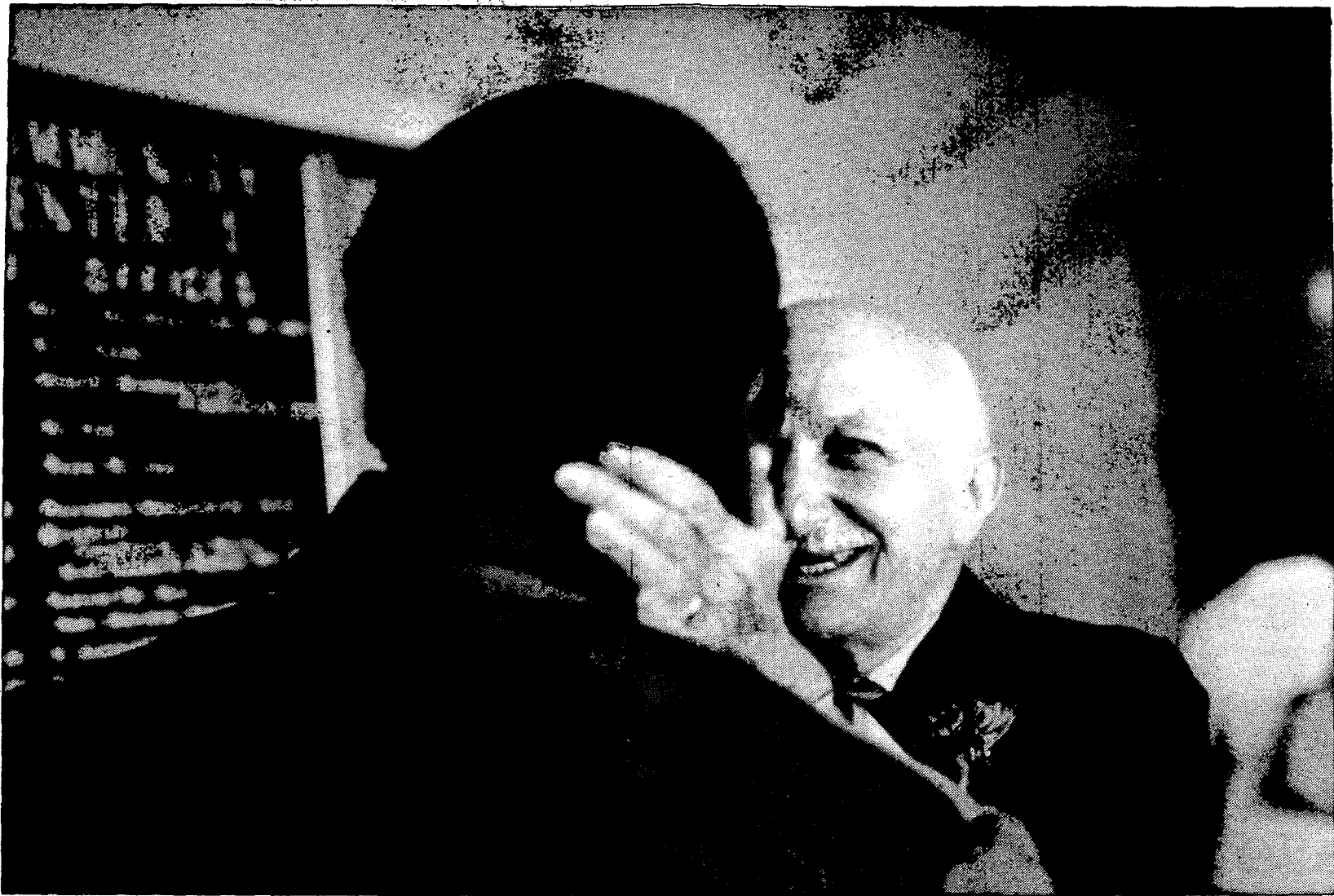
Town/State/zip _____

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LIFE IN THE U.S.



Sylvia Plachy

Red citadel in the Bronx

By Bob Klein
"The main prerequisite for living in the Coops—the one that attracted us—was that only people who worked for a living would be welcome as tenants. No businessmen. That was really the basis for these buildings. Ideology didn't matter—whether you're a socialist or communist—because we did have Democratic and Republican voters here, let me tell you. That's a fact. But the main thing was that people should be workers. The majority were Jews, employed in the needle trades, along with some carpenters and ironworkers and so on, with very few professionals," says Tanya Rosenberg.

The United Workers Cooperative Colony, Rosenberg's "Coop," was at its founding in 1927, 50 years ago, the first cooperative housing venture of its size, scope and hope in this country.

But in the then-pastoral surroundings of New York City's Bronx, the five five-story structures situated on two city blocks were an early attempt at self-sufficiency and control over the direction and meaning of one's life. The coops thrived with dozens of cultural, literary, social and athletic clubs; its own libraries; and auditorium; a gym; *schules* (schools); several small cooperatively-run stores and restaurants; and an optimism that, despite its present privately-owned status, remains unquenched.

"It was the biggest family I ever belonged to.... It was a village," rhapsodizes one old-timer. "It was like living in an illusion, an island.... It was a complete community, we had everything a working family could need or want.... It was a dream that came true.... It was a Utopia."

Experience in collective operation.

The Coops originally were run by a 21-member board of directors, elected by and directly responsible to the tenants. Its apartments, 743 of them, were planned by the founders themselves and included windows in every room, a remarkable departure at the time. Courtyards filled with trees, grass and small pools with goldfish added to the wholesome atmosphere—esthetic, political, healthy—which the workers lacked in the sweatshops downtown.

LEGACY

The original "Coopniks" hoped that their management of the buildings would give them the experience to run the society of the future...

The original "Coopniks" also hoped that their management of the buildings would give them needed experience in running a large, collectively maintained organization. They clearly saw it as essential preparation for that day when *all* of society would require such skills for its collectively-run operations.

From 1927 to 1931 the Coops developed according to the vision.

"Everything seemed to go well until the Great Depression...when worker/tenants lost their jobs and became unable to pay their rents," write Beatrice and Philip Amron, one of the Coops' first managers. "The cooperative could not make payments on the mortgage, and New York Title and Guarantee Corporation foreclosed and started evictions."

"We were not sufficiently aware of our rights," Bella Halebsky, 81, explains. "We didn't claim tax exemptions as a non-profit corporation because we didn't want government interference."

One stipulation in the foreclosure permitted the Coops to continue to be managed by its residents. In 1943, with the imposition of war-related rent controls, the Coops were forced to become completely privately owned and run.

Political activism.

It didn't halt the political activism, however.

"For me," Tanya Rosenberg recounts, "the first of May was always a great event... When you opened a door and walked into the court, you would think it really was a world holiday. All our children were out early in the court, dressed beautifully, waiting for the time to leave

and join the demonstration. Such excitement!

"I can say that was the only holiday when you really felt a holiday spirit, all through the halls and courts."

Another kind of spirit is revealed by Leah Mazur. Recalling a discussion with the superintendent of a nearby building who vowed she would never move into the Coops, Leah asked, "Why not?"

Because, the super said with a straight face, "if your neighbor can't pay his rent, they make you feed his family for him."

One of the families Leah Mazur's friend presumably would not have helped was that of Henry Winston. The wife and two children of Winston, the black Communist party leader and fugitive Smith Act victim, lived quietly amongst sympathetic neighbors, many of whom provided sustenance of all kinds to the blacklisted threesome. One, a professional musician with Toscanini and the NBC Symphony Orchestra, even gave them free clarinet lessons. Others offered clothing and, yes, food.

Membership in "the Party," or demonstrated sympathy for it, was a shared bond throughout—indeed was a reason for—the Coops' existence. There are those, mostly in their 80s, who still defiantly brandish the fact today.

One result of the Coops' activities and associations was the 1950s transformation of the neighborhood into a staging area for government surveillance. FBI agents frequently stopped people on the sidewalk, flashed their badge, and cutely inquired, "Have anything you'd like to get off your chest?"

The streets bordering the Coops pro-

vided parking space for black four-door Fords, from which the Feds casually observed and recorded the comings and goings of Coop residents. Not even the kids playing stickball on Britton Street were exempt from their watchful eyes.

50th reunion.

Some of those kids, and their parents and grandparents, gathered together last month to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Coops' birth. Perhaps not so coincidentally, the affair was held at the Bronx's Co-op City, now the largest cooperative housing venture in the U.S. It is also the home of many former Coop tenants.

Coopniks from as far away as California spent a full day of reminiscing, greeting old friends not seen for 35 years and singing old union and revolutionary songs. Grown men walked around wearing t-shirts with red lettering which read: "Teivos"—Soviet spelled backwards. Teivos was one of the many Coop clubs.

Another club, Atlas, excelled in sports, traveling to other parts of the city to challenge church and other community groups. During half-time, the team would retire to the lockerroom and emerge, after a brief rest, for the second half, complete with fresh shirts. The back of the new jerseys now declared: "Free the Scottsboro Boys." The Atlas won more games than fights.

All that—the joys, the struggles, the political harassment—was crammed into a 70-minute slide-music presentation that highlighted the reunion.

And the city of New York, this municipal election year, officially declared the occasion "Workers Cooperative Colony Day."

The audience, many of whom had suffered the billy-clubs of New York's finest on not a few May Days or had lost their city teaching jobs because they happened to live in the Coops, cheered.

(The accounts of Tanya Rosenberg, Leah Mazur and the Amrons were reprinted with the kind permission of the Coops Journal publishers.)

Bob Klein is a former editor of SEERS Rio Grande Weekly. He grew up in the Coops.

SPORTS

The Flashettes: pride and skill

THE FLASHETTES

Produced by Bonnie Friedman and Emily Parker Leon
New Day Films, Box 315, Franklin Lakes
NJ, 07417

By Cary Goodman

In the U.S. the history of women in sports has mostly been a history of women out of sports—outside struggling to get in. Women and girls have been relegated by social custom and even legal proscription to roles as admirers and outsiders. Constricted by time, money and social stigmas, women have nonetheless been able to make significant progress in winning recognition for their athletic abilities. Nowhere is there a better communication of that effort than in a recent documentary movie by New Day Films, *The Flashettes*.

The film is a study of an all-girls, all-black track team based in Bed-Stuy, Brooklyn. *The Flashettes*, as they call themselves, are the creation of Andre Beverly, a former college track athlete. Having noticed that his sister had "a lot of speed, but no knowledge or opportunity to use it," Andre sets out to build a girls track club so that his sister and others like her can have "an outlet."

The challenge of reshaping their minds and bodies for athletic competition provides these girls with a goal, with hope and with pride. The filmmakers manage to capture this mood in almost every frame. They capture it in the face of a

young girl who smiles from ear to ear after winning a race. They capture it in the nervousness and self-doubt that breeds confidence as Sonia and Wakina fidget in anticipation of their event. They capture it in the agony of a loser whose legs "can't hardly keep me up" and whose tears she can hardly keep back.

The camera follows the Flashettes through the rigors and giggles of practice, down the streets of their community and to the Metropolitan Age Group Girls' Championship Meet at Randall's Island. By the film's end you're ready to agree with Tania that being on the Flashettes is like "being part of a family."

Like every family the Flashettes have their problems. The facilities for athletics of any type in New York City suffer from severe neglect in addition to the limitation of facilities. The Flashettes practice amidst the rubble and decay of Brooklyn's Prospect Park at a crowded Boy's High field.

Aside from the lack of facilities the Flashette family is forced to endure the hardship of equipment shortages—some of the girls must swap sneakers with one another because there aren't enough to go around.

Finally and most importantly, the integrity of "the family" is threatened from without, by the same forces of decay and domination that it aims to avoid. On the one hand, there is the lure of the streets with a false promise of instant highs and energy through drugs. On the other, there



Being on the Flashettes is like being part of a family.

New Day Films

is the "beneficence" of Colgate-Palmolive, Mobil Oil, and other like-minded conglomerates intent on capturing the energy of these young girls and harnessing it to the corporate logo.

The girls proudly don the t-shirts of these corporate giants, t-shirts awarded as prizes, and Tania, Sonia, Wakina, and the other Flashettes are brought just another step closer to identification with those institutions that are indeed the root of the larger problems faced by us all.

Producers Bonnie Friedman and Emily Parker Leon are less successful in revealing these aspects of Flashette family life, although they certainly are not oblivious or sympathetic to the threats posed by the decay of inner-city life or the corporate colonization of sports.

"There's certainly another film to be made about the anguish of growing up female and black and wanting to be an athlete," commented Friedman in a

post-screening interview. "And there's a lot that needs to be said about how giant corporations play on that anguish by offering even the slightest tokens of 'good will'—like t-shirts and equipment."

"But we wanted this film mainly to speak to the hopes of these children, to their dreams."

That being the case, mission accomplished. Friedman and Leon have captured more than just the bodies of these girls in preparation for a physical test of skill. In perhaps the most important sequence of the movie the filmmakers interview these nine, ten and early teen girls, and the girls measure up to the grace of their athletic accomplishments by speaking honestly and articulately about dreams of college, the goal of gold medals and their desires to be somebody—not some bodies.

Cary Goodman works with Sport for the People in New York.

Perpetual motion Blazers win NBA

By Mark Naison

The Portland Trailblazers are the new NBA champions. With a dazzling display of team basketball reminiscent of the old Boston Celtics and New York Knicks, the Blazers beat a talented and favored Philadelphia team in the final series four games to two.

The emergence of the Blazers as a premier team has been one of the big stories in professional basketball this year. Like the great Celtic teams of the '50s and '60s, they are built around a center—Bill Walton—whose greatest skills are rebounding, shotblocking, and passing.

Walton's shotblocking ability enables the Blazer guards to gamble on defense, getting easy baskets on steals, and his control of the defensive backboards sets up the Blazer fastbreak. On offense, the Blazer attacks revolve around Walton's passing from the high or low post, while his teammates run an intricate set of patterns designed to free them for uncontested layups.

But the most striking quality of the Blazers team is its unselfishness. Although the team has two legitimate superstars—Walton and Maurice Lucas—and a whole slew of talented forwards and guards, the Blazers play with an enthusiasm and cooperative spirit rarely seen among professional athletes.

On offense the entire Blazer team moves without the ball and tries to get free for layups and short jumpshots, knowing their teammates will pass to them if they lose their defender. On defense the Blazers swarm all over the court, playing an harassing, gambling style that is as exhausting as it is effective.

This perpetual motion game requires the Blazer coach to substitute freely—no one, except maybe John Havlicek, can run that much on both ends of the court for 48 minutes—but starters don't complain when they're taken out of the game and substitutes don't complain about lack of playing time. The Blazers seem to display genuine respect for one another as players and people, a trait that, along

with their talent, makes them awesome to play against.

Blazers find their touch.

The 76ers, on the other hand, are a team that depends upon the individual abilities of its players and overall team to overpower and demoralize opponents. The 76ers are so much quicker, stronger and more

their whole attack ground to a halt, and the 76ers won going away.

In the third game in Portland the momentum of the series began to shift. To counteract the 76ers defensive strategy, the Blazers had Walton periodically move to a high post, where Philadelphia defenders could not swarm around him without leaving their men free under the

Portland was the one team against which the 76ers school yard style of play was least likely to be effective.

skilled than most of the teams they play against that they can win without running a pattern offense or playing consistent team defense.

Yet they have shown, on occasion, a capacity to pull together and play team ball. In both the Boston and the Houston series they won key games on the visiting court by playing tenacious defense and shutting down their opponents' top scorers.

In spite of much publicized internal dissension, they entered the finals with greater team solidarity than they had displayed during the regular season and tremendous confidence in their ability to rise to the occasion when they were in trouble.

In the first two games of the seven-game series it looked as though the 76ers might be too strong for Portland. The first game was a close contest that the 76ers won on the basis of more accurate shooting. But in the second game the 76ers came out with offensive and defensive innovations that completely caught the Blazers by surprise.

To counteract the pressing of the Blazer guards, the 76er coach had centers Caldwell Jones and Darryl Dawkins bring up the ball and set up a defense designed to prevent Bill Walton from getting the ball in the low post. Since the Blazer offense revolves around Walton's passing

basket. When the Philadelphia center sloughed off him, Walton began hitting 15 to 18 foot jumpers from the key. The rest of the Blazers also began to find their shooting touch, and Portland won rather easily.

In the fourth game, the Blazers blew the 76ers out, winning by 31 points even though Bill Walton was out the last third of the game with five fouls.

76ers disintegrate.

More significantly, the 76ers completely lost the team coordination they had begun to develop in the last stages of the season, reverting to a one-on-one style of play that left them vulnerable to the Blazer fast break. On defense the 76ers completely lost their concentration, allowing Blazers to shake free of them for uncontested layups and refusing to help one another out on picks and screens.

In the last two games of the series, played in Philadelphia and Portland respectively, the 76ers could not break out of their individualistic style of play. Only the heroics of Julius Erving—who proved once again why he is the greatest forward in the history of basketball—and a little bit of playoff nervousness on the part of the young Portland team kept the scores of the games close.

The disintegration of the 76ers attack was not due entirely to internal dissension among the players. The 76ers had played a school-yard style throughout the regular season and had been able to win most of their games. But Portland was the one team in the league against which that style was least likely to be effective.

Philadelphia players usually scored most of their points on drives to the basket and offensive rebounds. But the shot-blocking ability of Bill Walton took this capacity away from everyone on the Philadelphia team except Julius Erving (whom even Walton couldn't stop). The three other Philadelphia superstars—George McGinnis, Doug Collins, and Lloyd Free—had so many shots blocked, under the basket that, as the old schoolyard saying goes, "they had Wilson stamped on their forehead." As a result, the 76ers were forced to take an unusual percentage of their shots from the outside, where they were not particularly effective.

With their contrasting styles of play, shifts in strategy and great individual performances, the playoffs were a joy to watch. Only the television commentary spoiled an otherwise great six weeks of sports entertainment.

The CBS play-by-play man, Brent Musberger, was so obnoxious I actually felt relieved when the sound on my TV broke. His comments on Bill Walton were particularly offensive. In the early stages of the playoffs he called Walton "Mountain Man," but when Walton cornered him in a hotel and protested, he confined himself to snide remarks about Walton's diet and personal habits.

"Bill Walton is a vegetarian," he exuded during one game, "but he's been known to eat an occasional salmon." Comments like this—which add nothing to our enjoyment of the game—make me begin to wonder whether players should be given some voice in the selection of announcers.

Mark Naison coordinates sports coverage for *In These Times*. Comments and suggestions are welcomed c/o *In These Times*.



(off the record)

Big cheese

Where is policy made at NBC news? Richard Wald, NBC News president is stumped. When *Variety* asked him who had originated the idea for the network to hire Henry Kissinger, Gerald Ford, Betty and the kids, Wald replied, "I don't know." He elaborated, "I'm not exactly clear."

Wald then compared NBC to a piece of cheese. "I don't know how well you know NBC, but it's rather like a Swiss cheese," he suggested. "It's fairly large and there are lots of big holes in it that go in various places. And when something happens, you don't know where it came in and where it went out."

This curious account of decision-making at NBC was contradicted by a woman executive at the network who offered her view at a recent media panel. "These 30 men I work with talk in the men's room and eventually the schedule comes out," she said. A former NBC exec confirmed

her story. "I can attest to the fact that a lot of programming at NBC is done in the men's room."

What better place to think of Kissinger?

Fit to print

As President Carter prepared for his first exercise in international summitry with trilateral heads of state, the *New York Times* made its contribution to a climate of informed public opinion. The May Day issues of the *New York Times Magazine* published an article entitled, "Let's Look Out for No. 1!" written by Robert Moss, editor of *Foreign Report*, the weekly newsletter of *The Economist* of London.

The piece was an unprecedented defense of colonialism, urging Western powers not to feel guilty about their domination of lesser nations.

Moss contends that "we are hectored on every side by international bureaucrats and third world dictators" who "appeal to the guilty conscience of the well-fed

with images of starving millions; they lecture us on our moral obligations to atone for the supposed crimes of colonialism and capitalist exploitation."

Nostalgic for the salad days of British Empire, Moss declares, "Western colonialism led to higher living standard: throughout the third world."

The *Times* neglected to tell its readers that Moss is one of the better-known CIA-promoted journalists. A virtriotic book he wrote about Allende's Chile, called *Chile's Marxist Experiment*, was exposed as one of the volumes for which the CIA had covertly underwritten publication and distribution.

Recently, a pro-apartheid lobbying group of South African and American industrialists, known as the Club of Ten, purchased full-pages in American and British papers to reproduce articles by Moss on Angola. Naturally, he saw the Angolan revolution as a Soviet beachhead in Africa.

Moss's CIA ties were not cited in the ads, although Moss himself was reported a bit perturbed that he hadn't been asked in advance by the Club of Ten for permission to reprint his writings. That may mean he wasn't paid.

Official fiction

Many of the most respected and highest paid journalists seem to have an innocent view of history. They prefer to reduce things to simple-minded concepts, avoiding the complex trouble of thinking.

High Sidey, *Time* magazine's White House correspondent, is one of the deans of official fiction. He believes that Gerald Ford restored Americans' faith in government, that Jimmy Carter has a close personal relationship with the people and that Richard Nixon ended the Vietnam war.

Sidey offered this last view on a nationwide broadcast after Nixon's May 19 "paranoia for peace" performance. "Mr. Nixon ended the war... He got America out of that war," Sidey said. Sidey uttered this bit of "conventional wisdom" blandly, as if everyone must already share his opinion.

Neil Sheehan, the former *New York*

Times correspondent who broke the Pentagon Papers story and is now working on a book on the war, attempted a challenge, "The Communist Vietnamese won the war."

Sidey was unimpressed, took no note of the comment, and continued to blather on, demonstrating why *Time* holds him in such high regard.

Begin the Begin

The *New York Times* is cleaning up Menachim Begin's act for him. The newly elected Israeli prime minister is described by the *Times* as a "former guerilla." Does this mean that he sweated in the steamy Bolivian jungle with Che?

Actually, Begin was the chief of the right-wing Irgun gang, the kernel of what has become the victorious Likud party. As Irgun leader, Begin ordered, among other terrorist acts, the massacre of over 250 Palestinian villagers at Deir Yassin—an act for which David Ben Gurion publicly apologized to the Arab world.

Now that Begin has been elected to Israel's highest post his terrorist background is being refurbished.

Ticker

Editor and Publisher magazine reports that only 45 percent of the space in newspapers is devoted to news. The rest is taken up with ads....The biggest television advertiser is Procter and Gamble, which plunked down \$339.2 million last year. The total for all advertisers was a record \$3,811,881,800.

Meanwhile, according to CBS researchers, in 36 percent of all homes, television viewing is the only family activity. And in 78 percent of homes, no conversation occurs while watching TV except during commercials.

Arbitron Television also reports that blacks view TV eight percent more than the general population.

Sidney Blumenthal writes for *The Real Paper*. *Danny Schechter* is the news director/dissector for WBCN-FM in Boston.

Censor

Continued from page 24.

much power being concentrated in a few corporations. There is no need to break up the networks, he insisted. Network shows appeal to a broad range of people and satisfy a wide variety of tastes and interests. "There is a diversity of programming. CBS has everything from '60 Minutes' to 'Lumpy Dumpy and His Friends.'"

Yes, I am God.

Network programs reach tens of millions of people. How can Revard and his staff possibly determine what is socially acceptable to an audience of this magnitude? They solicit a wide range of opinions from various groups, schools, libraries, public agencies and other institutions.

"I'm an advocate of everybody—the AMA, PTA, Congress—having a say in what is right."

But in the end, Revard and other network officials make the decisions—according to what they think the great majority of moderate Americans want to see.

"Here's 100 percent of the population," he said. "I ignore the 10 to 15 percent on this side who want everything on the air, including 'Deep Throat.' And I leave out the 10 to 15 percent on the other side who just want religious programs. I pretty much shoot for the 70 percent in the middle."

Does Revard ever feel uncomfortable about the lofty and presumptuous role he plays—deciding what the rest of the nation should or should not watch? No, he replied with conviction. "I'm long past the point of caring when somebody says, 'Who do you think you are—God?' Yes, I am God. By virtue of my position."

David Talbot is a freelance writer in Los Angeles and is working on a book on the movie industry.

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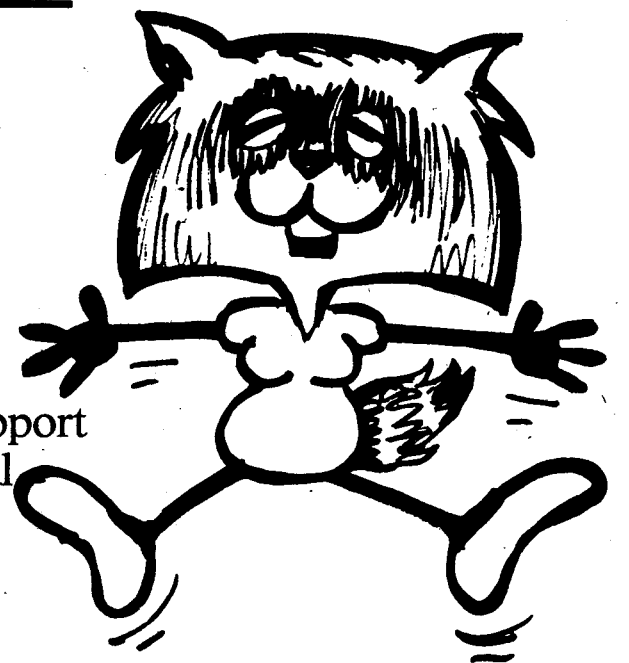
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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

MUSIC



Association for the Advancement of Creative Music

Floyd Webb

Chicago cradles creative jazz

On Sunday, May 8, the Association for the Advancement of Creative Music, (AACM) celebrated its 12th anniversary. The AACM is a collective of musicians, community-based on Chicago's Southside, which represents an alternative to the traditional jazz scene and whose musical vibrations are presently sending shock waves through the sophisticated New York City jazz scene.

While the Apple still remains the official capital of the jazz world, many of its most innovative musicians are either AACM founders (like Michael Richard Abrams), early graduates (like Anthony Braxton) or recent ones (like George Lewis). It seems safe to say that, as in Charlie Parker's time) the new wave of jazz presently cresting in New York actually originated in the Midwest. The musicians affiliated with AACM are interested in providing supportive community and setting for their music. They exchange musical ideas by sitting in with each other's bands and teaching young and upcoming

musicians the ropes. In this way their music is allowed to develop freely, without commercial pressures.

This is not to say that AACM members are creating a cloistered art form. They are always seeking new outlets so that their music can be made as accessible as possible to the larger listening public, and the black community in particular.

One outlet is Transitions East, located in the heart of Chicago's Southside ghetto community. Unlike most slick jazz clubs, it is a storefront operation. No alcohol is served; the food and drink are natural; the atmosphere is warm rather than sleazy. The musicians, drawn largely from the community itself, are treated as artists and visionaries rather than as mere entertainers or, to use Charles Mingus' term, "clowns." The AACM big band performs there regularly on Monday nights, and Transitions East acts as a spawning grounds for creative young musicians playing in the black music idiom.

These are artists who define the

proper role of the musician in these times as using their art as a tool of liberation. Music can be a powerful force for breaking through the alienating lives we lead at work and at leisure by getting us back in touch with our unalienated selves. Such music is diametrically opposed to the commercial music industry's diet of prepackaged pap.

"Our music is not simply intended as distraction or entertainment, but as a transcendent experience," says AACM member Adegoke Steve Colson.

In this sense AACM music is political. But its political component unfolds subtly. It is not merely "protest music" that seeks to shatter the walls of the complacent present with its intensity, but also a music that holds within it an affirmative vision of the post-revolutionary future.

—Ron Sakolsky

Ron Sakolsky teaches jazz and blues at Sangamon State College and writes regularly for *In These Times*.

"...uncompromisingly rebellious from start to finish."

Unequaled Reggae



Peter Tosh

EQUAL RIGHTS
Peter Tosh
Columbia Records/CBS

With *Equal Rights*, his second American album, Peter Tosh has emerged as one of the dominant forces in Reggae. Tosh had been the lead guitarist on the original Wailers, and last year he released a fine solo album in the U.S. But his own personality was submerged as his first album, *Legalize It*, wrapped him in the Wailers

mystique. *Equal Rights* shows that Tosh has become an artist in his own right.

Like the best songs of Bob Marley, Peter Tosh's music combines haunting melodies and exciting rhythms with strong statements of protest and liberation. *Equal Rights* is uncompromisingly rebellious from start to finish, beginning with the Reggae anthem "Get Up, Stand Up" (which Tosh co-wrote with Marley) and concluding with "Apartheid."

My favorite song is "Downpressor Man," a blues-oriented Reggae version of the North American slave spiritual "Sinners Man." (In Jamaican English "downpressor" means oppressor.) Also particularly noteworthy are "I Am That I Am," "Jah Guide," and the title cut, a militant call for equal rights and justice in Angola, Botswana, Zimbabwe and "right here in Jamaica." However, it is

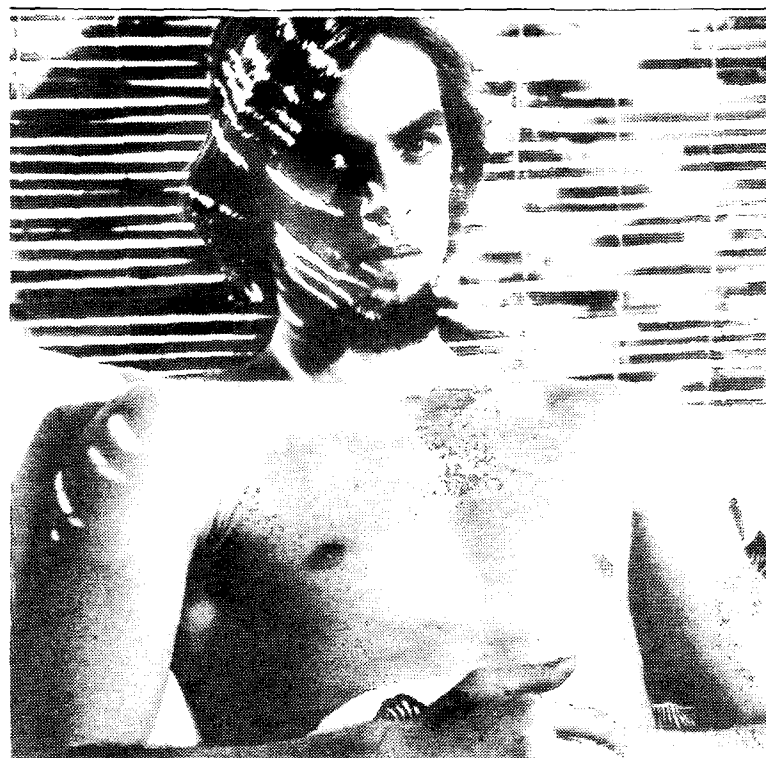
difficult to single out the best songs on an album that has no real weak points.

Reggae has been a commercial failure in the U.S. (See *ITT*, March 16.) This is due primarily to the poor distribution of most Reggae albums (which are largely on the Island Records label), the neglect of most rock critics, and the rather narrow musical tastes of both black and white North Americans. Columbia Records, which is distributing *Equal Rights*, seems to be making a serious attempt to reverse this trend. They have placed ads for Tosh's new album in national rock magazines and in college newspapers. Whether improved marketing will be enough to overcome American resistance to Jamaican rebel music remains to be seen.

—Bruce Dancis

Bruce Dancis is currently an editor of *Socialist Revolution*.

FILM



Top: Keith Carradine

Bottom: Geraldine Chaplin, Lauren Hutton, Sally Kellerman, Viveca Lindfors, Sissy Spacek

Welcome to L.A.
—terminal ennui

WELCOME TO L.A.

Directed by Alan Rudolph
Produced by Robert Altman
Starring: Geraldine Chaplin, Harvey Keitel, Keith Carradine, Sally Kellerman, Sissy Spacek, Lauren Hutton, Viveca Lindfors

First of all, this film is *not* by Robert Altman, although it has been referred to as such, and his name looms larger than that of the director. But it's easy to forget that Altman merely produced this vapid nonsense; Alan Rudolph has borrowed a large number of his repertoire players and so many small touches from *Nashville* that he should be embarrassed not to give Altman more credit.

The story of the "City of One Night Stands" concerns a group of small-time entrepreneurs ranging from babbling real-estate agents through washed-up promoters to self-indulgent would-be stars—and an insipid group they are. I cannot believe we are actually supposed to care who goes leaping between the sheets with whom—which all characters do at various times and for no discernable reason since even the carnal thrills they pursue with such single-minded doggedness turn out to be tedious.

Geraldine Chaplin turns in an unsubtle performance as a slightly loony housewife; Keith Carradine is the brooding hunk that all the "chicks" get the hots for; and

Lauren Hutton walks across the set a few times. Harvey Keitel provides several reprieves of interesting characterization (his reaction to being made a partner by the boss to whom he kow-towed humiliatedly for years provoked muffled cheers from the audience). Sissy Spacek, Sally Kellerman and Viveca Lindfors play dull variations on the pathetic spurned female.

Continually intruding onto the soundtrack is the most irritating movie music I've ever heard, delivered by a singer whose voice can be described as an auto-erotic type of groan. The lyrics are so bad that about halfway through I tried to persuade myself that they were meant to be a parody, but most of me remained unconvinced.

Los Angeles seems to be the city to pick on lately (see *Annie Hall*). Few places—Miami excluded—are capable of projecting that certain aura of white-washed rot and sunny decay. But location alone does not a movie make.

A question that has often confronted writers is whether or not one can write about boredom without being boring. Director Rudolph wrangled with the same problem cinematically: can one make a film about terminal ennui without putting the patrons to sleep?

He lost.

—P. Hertel

P. Hertel reviews films regularly for *In These Times*.

MUSIC

Balladeer going strong at 76

Malvina Reynolds picked up her *San Francisco Chronicle* one day and read that 1,500 people protesting the construction of a nuclear power plant had been arrested in Seabrook, New Hampshire. She wrote a song about it, taped it on a cassette, and sent it to them:

*Are you listening to the ground-swell
Moving underneath your feet?*

"I got a letter back. People were singing it in the armories where they were being held. When I can do something like that, I feel it's really valuable, to help along an uprising we've been waiting for for a long time," she says.

Reynolds has been doing things like that for decades. In the early '60s she wrote a song

called "It Isn't Nice," about civil rights struggles:

*It isn't nice to block the doorway
It isn't nice to go to jail
There are nicer ways to do it
But the nice ways always fail*

which was heard at freedom demonstrations all over the South.

"To have a song of mine picked up by black people, who have a strong musical tradition, made me feel just great," she says.

Malvina began at the age of eight telling stories to neighbor children on her front porch. Later her parents managed to send her to college and she earned a doctorate in literature. She found herself unable to get a job, a victim of discrimination against women and what she calls a "subliminal" (or unwritten) blacklist

because of her socialist political beliefs.

Jobs in a factory and as a telephone operator came next. Then in her 40s she discovered American folk music. The artist had found her medium, and soon her songs were being recorded by artists like Harry Belafonte, Pete Seeger and Joan Baez.

Not long afterwards she learned to play the guitar and embarked on a career as a composer/singer/agitator. At 76, she's written hundreds of songs and says she's still learning the skill of relating to an audience.

To be part of Reynolds' audience is to recapture the wonder the children must have felt listening to her on the front stoop. Her magic is more than her deceptively simple songs or her untrained voice that occasionally rasps or quavers. Her wise eyes twinkle as she knits the audience into a community that shares her optimism in the face of social problems:

*They got the world in their pocket,
They can shake it, they can rock it.
They got the world in their pocket,
But their pocket's got a hole.*

Only Malvina Reynolds could get an audience full of men swaying and singing to "We Don't Need the Men," a song she wrote in 1956 that has recently become a favorite with her audiences: "We don't care about them/We can do without them./They'll look cute in a bathing suit on a billboard in Manhattan."



Malvina Reynolds

Torie Osborn

"I guess the men knew I'm just having fun," she says.

Her sharp-edged, wry sense of humor draws her audience into a shared understanding and a shared confidence about changing bad situations.

"Little Boxes," one of her most famous songs, satirizes the "doctors and lawyers and business executives" of Suburbia who, like their houses, "are all made out of ticky-tacky and come out just the same."

In "Rosie Jane," a song about abortion, she makes a barbed contrast between the cruel treatment of unwanted children and a hypocritical solicitude for the unborn.

Reynolds herself is a paradox. In many ways an individualist: when Columbia Records cut an album and then didn't promote it, she formed her own record company. She is "an auxiliary to many movements," but a member of none. She edits her own newsletter "Sporadic Times." She's creative, successful and has escaped being victimized by the ageism that distorts the lives of most of her contemporaries.

Yet her whole philosophy, and the plea of her songs, is not for individualism but for community. She deplores the loss of neighborhood, of clan, of per-

sonal contact.

"Like topsoil, which took eons to develop, and which the bulldozers push into the river with no understanding of the precious biotic interplay the machine is destroying," so is human community, the product of hundreds of generations of interaction, being destroyed. And without it, she warns, "we cease to exist. Without it, we are cut off from centuries of human work and love and the stories people told about them."

Reynolds credits her lifelong membership in the community of people trying to change society for her past and present vigor. In her songs and her personal contact with the audience she keeps alive the spirit of the teller of tales within the community.

Reynolds was in Madison the week Judge Archie Simonson declared rape a normal reaction for a teenage boy. She promptly wrote a song about the judge, who "said screw 'em,/Boys, you're only human."

*The judge took this position,
The judge he wouldn't budge.
So we got out this petition,
and we're gonna screw the judge.*

Malvina Reynolds' records can be ordered at: **Schroder Music Company, 2027 Parker St., Berkeley, CA 94704.**



I look forward to reading In These Times each week—it has articles and insights I can find nowhere else. Even though there are many new publications, I get a special kick out of this one.

—Studs Terkel

NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

A look at the Congressional Black Caucus: who is in it, what it does, and what its relation to the Carter administration is, the results of the United Mine Workers election and the election in Spain,

firsthand reports on Vietnam since the end of the war and on the progress of the Paris normalization talks between Vietnam and the U.S., and an analysis of the growing citizens' action movement.

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BOOKS

Final chapters of Wright's *Black Boy*

AMERICAN HUNGER
By Richard Wright
Harper & Row, N.Y., \$8.95

Not long before publication of his superb autobiographical work, *Black Boy*, in 1945, Richard Wright agreed to an editorial suggestion that the tail end of the manuscript be lopped off. What remained was an artistic whole; a remembrance of Wright's childhood and adolescence in the deep South, terminating with his migration to Chicago in 1927 at age 19.

The loose-end part, now published as *American Stranger*, describes his experiences in Chicago, the most important being his association with the Communist party, a tie that Wright severed in 1942. Since this entire autobiographical work (body and tail) was written in 1946, there had not been much time to place in perspective so traumatic a rupture as Wright depicted.

Possibly to overcome the problem of perspective, Wright resorted to a symbolical representation of his break with the party, setting the scene in Chicago, since May 1937, although in real life the break came in another place (New York) and another time (five years later). The culminating episode is the trial of another black Communist to which Wright had been invited, and where he feels he is being tried (and condemned) by proxy.

The trial attains its climax with the defendant's plea of guilty to charges that involve opposition to party policies. Wright emphasizes that the defendant was not prodded, tortured, threatened or drugged. The confession stems from his profound ideological conviction, moral commitment and sense of kinship and solidarity with his accusing comrades. "This, to me, was a spectacle of glory," says Wright, "and yet, because it had condemned me, because it was blind and ignorant, I felt that it was a spectacle of horror."

Ambivalence runs through the trial scene. Items:

• Much of the trial was taken up with a sketch of the historical context: "a vivid picture of a kind under the influence of a man was a tragedy of passion, and it was a tragedy of passion. Perhaps the organization on earth was the Communist party, possessed so dearly of the knowledge of how workers should be treated."

"... was for these people. Being a Negro, I could not help it. They did not hate Negroes. They had no racial prejudices. Many of the white men in the hall were married to Negro women, and many of the Negro men were married to white women. Jews, Germans, Russians, Spaniards, all races and nationalities were represented without any distinctions whatever. Racial hate had been the bane of my life, and here before my eyes was concrete proof that it could be abolished."

• And yet... "It was irrational that Communists should hate what they called 'intellectuals,' or anybody who tried to think for himself. I had met men who did not like the color of my skin, and now I was among men who did not like the tone of my thoughts."

From the foregoing it would seem that, contrary to some assertions, it was not Wright's blackness but his internalization that generated tensions between him and his comrades. Wright thought they were sealed by "the conditions under which" I had to work. Writing is not an issue in themselves, and Communism.



Richard Wright

“I had fled from men who did not like the color of my skin... now I was among men who did not like the tone of my thoughts.”

had declared war upon human loneliness. Alone, they said, a man was weak; united with others, he was strong. Therefore they habitually feared a man who stood alone...."

The argument is ingenuous. Wright's chronic aloneness far exceeded what was necessary for the practice of his craft. The poignant isolation from his peers as child and adolescent is told in *Black Boy*.

In 1933, at age 25, he joined the John Reed Club and met other left-wing men and women and encountered the first "who were to form the first sustained relationship in my life."

In 1945 (post-CP) he lamented, "Oh, God, how lonely I am with this burden of consciousness! If only there were supporting minds about me, kindred feelings!" In 1955 he advised his editor that no galleys of his book, *The Color Curtain: A Report on the Bandung Conference*, be sent to "James Baldwin, Ralph Ellison or Horace Cayton, etc." because they were "not independent enough to give their honest reaction." (Ellison and Cayton were old, close friends.) In 1960, ten months before his death, Wright wrote to his agent, "I'm about the only 'uncontrolled' Negro alive today...."

As Communist history illustrates, at times tragically, the relationships between collective and individual is not simple. The "cult of the individual" was legitimized by the cult of a collective will, embodied exclusively in the chosen individual. The American CP did not escape such deformities and it was not likely to be at its best in dealing with someone like Wright.

Nonetheless, "in principle," Wright recognized the historical need of the collective, firmly bound together by unity and discipline. "I knew that it was impossible for working people to forge instruments of political power until they had forged unity of action. Oppressed for centuries, divided, hopeless, corrupted,

misled, they were cynical—as I had once been—and the Communist method of unity had been found historically to be the only means of achieving discipline.”

Another source of tension between Wright and the party was the above perception of the working class ("hopeless, corrupted..."), and his description of Negroes as "lost, ignorant, sick in mind and body." A prevalent Communist attitude was articulated in Herbert Aptheker's report: "What nonsense is this! What slander! The oppressed are heroic. The dispossessed are the uncorrupt."

By the time this appeared (1945) Wright's break with the party was public knowledge, and that may account for the tone of categorical imperative or papal bull. But is the issue truly met? One may argue that in Wright's preoccupation with the seamier sides of ghetto life, he paid too little mind to the elements of resistance that, in historical perspective, bear the seeds of revolt and regeneration. But this does not absolve one from confronting the historical dialectic in which oppression not only provokes resistance, but also imposes adaptation with its corrupting effects.

This contradiction is real and so are the issues it poses. Discussion of them in Communist ranks was hindered by a caricature of "socialist realism" that, at times, had more affinity with Norman Vincent Peale and Horatio Alger than with Marx.

Wright's departure from the party was followed by his departure from the U.S. to escape the lacerations of racism in American society. Settling in Paris in 1947, he remained there the rest of his life. From a letter to his editor in 1955 (eight years after his exile and 13 years after his break with the party) one may infer a connection between the two departures.

"I was a Communist because I was a Negro," he wrote. "In-

deed the Communist party had been the only road out of the Black Belt for me. Hence Communism has not been for me simply a fad, a hobby; it had a deep functional meaning for my life. Therefore, when I left the Communist party, I no longer had a protective barrier, no defenses between me and a hostile racial environment that absorbed all my time, emotions and attention."

This private communication indicates, as so much else does, that Wright's relationship with the CP was far more intricate, far more ambivalent than what is portrayed in stereotypical anti-

Communist vulgarizations. Most meretricious of all is the attempted use of Wright's break with the CP to sanctify him for the greater glory of the Free World, USA. His life embraces more than the dichotomy—Communist/anti-Communist. There is also a trilogy—*Black Boy*, *Native Son* and the unwritten *Expatriate Father*. It is a scaring indictment of American racism and its capitalist model.

—Al Richmond

Al Richmond was for many years editor of the *People's World* and is the author of *Long View from the Left*.

Kissinger signs with NBC-TV for new programs for 5 years

...Mr. Josephson kept the television rights for his client apart when he made the book deal with Little, Brown last week. The publisher had no say on the television agreement. Informed speculation by other publishers who had bid for the memoirs placed the book figure at about \$2 million...

Speculation—and it's only that—by lawyers familiar with the fees paid to entertainment and news personalities placed the NBC contract at a potential of \$1.5 million for the five years...

—*New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1977

Oh Kissinger

(tune: Oh Tannenbaum)

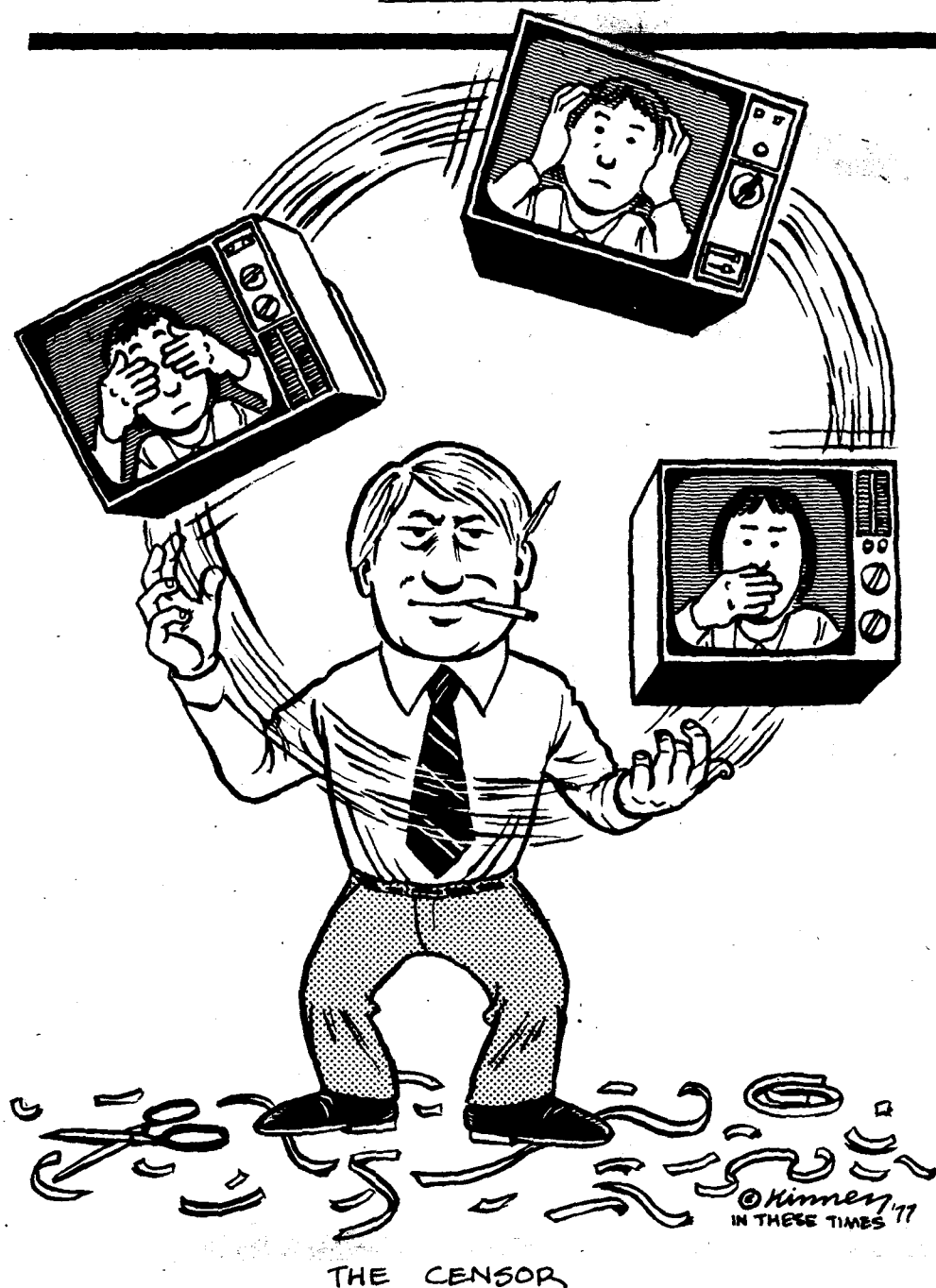
Oh Kissinger Oh Kissinger how green are your advances!
Oh ABC or NBC how shining are your chances!
Franco, Vorster, and the Shah—
(Allende felt your "oom-pah-pah")
Oh Kissinger Oh Kissinger how green are your advances!

Oh Kissinger Oh Kissinger how shining are your lances!
Oh NBC or ABC how splendid are your chances!
Against them Gooks, well you stood tall!
Red carpet bombings wall to wall!
Oh Kissinger Oh Kissinger how green are your advances!

Oh Kissinger Oh Kissinger how sinuous your dances
Oh Kissinger Oh Kissinger your success us enhances
America rewards its sons
(Especially its sons o' guns)
Oh Kissinger Oh Kissinger how green are your advances!

-Tuli Kupterberg

I am the censor.



THE CENSOR

"I'm long past the point of caring when somebody says, 'Who do you think you are—God?' Yes, I am God. By virtue of my position."

Last month amid much talk about "breaking new ground" and "bold and innovative programming," the three major TV networks unveiled their fall schedules at their annual affiliates meetings in Los Angeles. Despite all the fanfare, however, the upcoming season will likely be little different from last.

Who is responsible for TV programs being devoid of dramatic and social substance? Those in the business blame the network "censors," the faceless guardians of the airwaves who carefully screen every script that goes before the cameras. Each year brings new complaints: key words, gestures, or entire scenes removed from scripts because they were judged to be offensive or provocative, story ideas squelched when it was decided the public was "not ready for them."

Who are these network officials who decide what is appropriate and inappropriate for us to watch? What are their standards? Recently *IN THESE TIMES* interviewed Jim Revard, West Coast director of CBS' program practices department. ("It doesn't matter what they call us," said Revard, "we're censors.")

Revard, assisted by a staff of nine, is responsible for reviewing everything aired on CBS during prime time. "We're censors—90 percent of what we do is negative," commented Revard. "But we do more than look for dirty words. We are responsible for putting more minorities in programs. We make sure there's no plugola, no commercial mention of Coke

or Pepsi during our coverage of sporting events. It seems like every sports figure is working for some company nowadays. We watch out for [references to] political candidates."

Balanced presentations.

Revard also sees that controversial issues are treated in a "balanced" fashion. In late May CBS broadcast a television movie called "Red Alert" about the breakdown of a nuclear power station. The near-disaster was brought about in the film by a distraught plant employee who was mourning the death of his only child. In the original script a line referred to a similar incident, covered up by the government, at a nuclear facility in New Mexico.

Revard's department took strong exception to the line. "We told them, 'You get us proof that something like this really happened, and we'll let it go on the air.'"

The filmmakers, said Revard, failed to present adequate documentation and the line was cut. "Something like that could have been labeled 'scare tactics' by the pro-nuclear power people," he explained.

It would be irresponsible of CBS to broadcast too many melodramas about the hazards of nuclear power, Revard says. "We could do lots of scary stories on this subject—but you have to wonder if you're not overdoing it. People could become so frightened that everytime [a nuclear plant] comes up on a referendum they vote it down. That wouldn't do anybody any good."

Gun control is another "problem area." "Most liberal writers," Revard said, "like to take a shot at handguns. It's like religion—you know somebody is going to yell when you do a story about gun control."

Last season, the Mary Tyler Moore show submitted a script that touched on this. In the script, newswriter Murray Slaughter set out to do a story on how easy it is to buy weapons in Minneapolis.

"There was a scene where Murray said, 'All you need is the right amount of cash' or something like that. We made them change the line to, 'You need to fill out papers at gunstores, but there are some unscrupulous people who will sell them to you in the alley.' We felt that was the real situation."

Revard conceded that his script changes often interfere with the humor of a situation comedy. "But," he added, "we're dealing with a very powerful medium here. A lot of people take Mary Tyler Moore or Lou Grant as authorities."

There were times, said Revard, when the MTM staff tried to balance its treatment of a controversial topic by making Ted Baxtor, the show's dimwitted anchorman, the spokesman for one side. "But I'm no dummy," declared the censor. "I wasn't about to buy that."

The Audience to blame.

How does CBS decide whether it is safe to air a once taboo word or idea? According to Revard, the network introduces them in controlled fashion, gauging the public's reaction.

"Very often we're accused of being arbitrary by producers. We are—usually by design. Sometimes to test whether or not the audience is ready for certain characterization, speech or word we experiment with a particular show. The producers of the other shows complain that we're playing favorites. 'Why can't we use that word,' they say. 'We heard it on that program.' But you can only do so much at a time. You can't overload the boat. You have to break things in."

"Son of a bitch" was once tested out on "Maude," said Revard. The reaction was so overwhelmingly negative, he asserted, that it has never since been uttered on a CBS show.

Revard blames the scarcity of relevant programs on television viewers. In the early '70s CBS and the other networks put melodramas like "Storefront Lawyers" and "The Interns" but they all flopped.

"You know why relevancy went down the drain several years ago?" remarked the network censor. "People didn't want to see it. They didn't want to see the same problems on TV at night that they had to face the next day. People want to be entertained."

"I'm a member of the audience, and I get fed up with problems—social and personal problems; producers yelling at me all day long. So by the time I finish, I'm not up for more reality. I want to see things resolved by the end of the program. That's the way we are, it's the nature of the beast. It's psychologically bad for us if all we see night after night are unresolvable situations."

Doesn't the extraordinary success of "Roots" demonstrate the huge potential for serious and meaningful TV programs?

"Well, you can only do a 'Roots' so many times before you lose the public's interest," Revard responded. "In a sense," he added, "'Roots' was a crude bit of drama—it dealt with very elementary situations—life, death, love, sex, birth, these things. They latched upon a very likeable company of actors. People like those performers. Just as they liked Flip Wilson, who was a very successful television entertainer for a number of seasons. Flip Wilson is a very likeable guy. They liked the cast, so they became very involved with them from the beginning."

But the show itself didn't really say anything very profound. 'This is a group of black slaves who had to live this way, this is how the whites lived.'

Disputes with producers.

Because of his position, Revard is frequently involved in heated disputes with television producers. "The Hollywood creative community is just a small segment of the population," he said. "If we didn't object, they would always be pushing their philosophies on TV."

Revard feels particularly resentful toward producers like Norman Lear ("All in the Family," "Maude," "Good Times," etc.) who pride themselves on making a social contribution. "Before producers get on the air, they're just some other clown out in the hallway saying, 'Have I got an idea for you!' But once they get on the air, they've got all the ideas, they know how to solve the world's problems."

Revard has often been subjected to verbal abuse and intimidation during his ten years in the program practices department. Producers have cursed him in front of their crews, and have threatened to get him fired. "I would have hit them in the mouth a long time ago if it had been just me and them," he commented with some bitterness. "But I represent the network."

"I've seen all kinds of 'geniuses' come and go," he continued. "It's only a matter of time. And when they do fall down, they usually don't come back. So they don't frighten me or scare me... Norman [Lear] has threatened not to do any more shows. We've been threatened by performers before. One actor said he would walk off his show if the violence wasn't reduced. But you can't turn broadcasting over to these people. The ultimate responsibility lies with us."

Cutting violence.

Revard is also irritated by the TV violence critics. "They say the volume [of TV violence] hasn't diminished. It's a damn lie. I'm not saying this for the corporation, but for myself. They're saying I'm not doing my job."

Revard challenged George Gerbner (noted TV violence analyst) Nicholas Johnson and representatives of the PTA to sit down and watch every episode of the long-running series "Gunsmoke" and "Hawaii Five-O." Then they would clearly realize that he has reduced the amount of violence on CBS over the years.

It takes three acts of violence per show to make an "action" series work, Revard believes. If a script contains more than three the producer is given several choices: 1) "He can cut the number of violent acts; 2) he can do less than three on his next show; 3) he can throw out the script."

Some producers, Revard said, "complain about those guys over at CBS who make them do their show by the number, by a formula. My reaction is, 'Bullshit! Your whole show is formula.'"

Revard had a similar response when one of the producers of "Hawaii Five-O" accused him of making the show less realistic by insisting on less violence.

"I said, 'What the hell is so realistic about your show in the first place? You've got some super hero flying all over the islands solving problems in 60 minutes!'"

Acknowledging that the power of the three major networks is immense, Revard said that television is just beginning to realize its full potential. "Imagine the power we would have if we went global. We could put the lie to certain things, show the similarities between peoples. The Russian propagandists show the social unrest, the riots, the assassinations in our country and represent them as being typical."

Revard sees nothing wrong with this

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